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PARIS, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

ESTABLISHED 1887

Bankers Join Fray After EC Treaty Is Assailed

Report's View of Union As 'Questionable' Draws **Indignant Responses**

By Carl Gewirtz International Herald Tribune

BASEL, Switzerland - Harsh, unusual criticism of the Maastricht treaty by an international institution ignited vehement discord over EC economic union Monday at a meeting of cen-

The disagreement triggered by a report from the Bank for International Settlements, often described as the central bank for central bankers, comes at a time when the European Community's plans for economic and monetary union by the end of the century are under

attack as oever before (Page 11)

The BIS said that EC governments had "managed to spring the program on a largely unprepared public."

The governments "are now faced with debate and dissension very late in the day" that has "cast some doubt on the prospects for imple-mentation," the BIS said in a section of its

Jacques Delors bows to the richer EC states and scales back his budget proposals. Page 11.

annual report, which was prepared before Dan-ish voters rejected the treaty in a referendum on June 2. (Page 13)

"Whether a monetary union which is essentially viewed as a stepping stone to political union should be presented as a necessary extension of the program for completing the internal market in the Community may seem question-

able," the report said. The BIS is the bastion of independent, conservative rectitude on monetary affairs. But its incursions into the poblical arena are rare, and Monday's report stirred dissent and indigna-

Erik Hoffmeyer, head of the Danish central bank and chairman of the EC central bank governors' committee, told journalists that he did not agree with the report's "surprisingly

negative" comments on monetary union.

There are "weaknesses" in the treaty, he said, noting that fiscal policy of member countries is not subject to the same coordination as mone-

tary policy.
"But, this doesn't mean that the Maastricht treaty has to be renegotiated," he said.

The governor of the Bank of France, Jacques de Larosière, was more emphatic, Agence France-Presse reported. He said the BIS report had been published under the sole responsibil ity of the general manager, Alexandre Lamiainssy, without the approval of the administra-

tive board. "Personally I do not find it objective." he said, but rather "strongly biased." Mr. de Lavo-sière is a member of the administrative board. Helmut Schlesinger, president of the Bundesbank, said outside the meeting that the road to economic and monetary union in Europe was in a "risky situation now" as a result of the Danish rejection, and with Ireland's referendum com-

ing up Thursday. Progress could not be made by only 11 of the 12 EC members, he said.

We must have the agreement of 12 countries See EUROPE, Page 13

Crime Muscles In on Japan's Economy

By James Sterngold

New York Times Service TOKYO - With hit movies like "Tampopo" and "A Taxing Woman," Juzo Itami has developed a knack for making the serious-minded Japanese laugh at their quirks. But when he decided to join a growing debate with a new film about lending off the mob. satire gave way to a real drama.

On May 22, just a week after the new movie opened, three men attacked Mr. Itami in front of his house, slashing him repeatedly in the face, neck and left hand, leaving him alive

Suddenly, this celebrity's bandaged face became a grussome symbol of a kind of war

the Japanese have been waging recently against the yakuza, or mob.

The problem is not the existence of the yakuza. For decades the gangsters have swaggered openly through Japanese society, movies and popular novels, street samurai with oeck-to-knee tattoos and, often, sliced-of! pinkies, the result of a well-known punishment for violating the rules.

Police admit the yakuza operated under an inspoken pact: as long as they conducted their illegal activities on the fringes of society, using a minimum of violence, they would be left alone. Occasionally they were used to suppress Communists and other radicals.

1980s shattered the old understanding by

But the remarkable economic boom of the

and audacity. As a growing series of scandals have shown, the yakuza have moved from smoky gambling dens to the stock market from rackets on construction sites to the real estate development industry, from ties with local police to influence over national politi-

The government has responded with an unparalleled attack on the yakuza. The police have been armed with tough new laws, staging a series of raids for weapons and encouraging citizens' groups to use the courts to throw gangsters out of their neighborhoods. The light has increasingly become not just

See YAKUZA, Page 6

U.S. High Court Backs **Abductions for Trial**

Extradition Treaty Is Not a Barrier, It Rules in Seizure of Mexican Doctor

By Ruth Marcus

Washington Part Service
WASHINGTON — The U.S. government may abduct people from foreign countries and bring them to trial, even if the United States has an extradition treaty with the other country, the Supreme Court ruled Monday.

Voting 6 to 3, the court cleared the way for the trial of Humberto Alvárez-Machain, a Mexican doctor accused of participating in the 1985 abduction and murder of a Drug Enforcement Administration agent, Enrique Camarena-Salazár, and his pilot.

The dissenting opinion, written by Justice John Paul Stevens, described the ruling as

The drug agency, believing that Mr. Alvarez-Machain helped prolong Mr. Camarena's life so that the hidnappers could cootinue to torture and interrogate him, arranged to have him abducted from his office in Guadalajara and flown to El Paso, where he was seized by U.S.

agents.

The Mexican government protested the kid-napping, arguing that it violated a 1978 extradi-tion treaty between the two countries. It demanded the return of Mr. Alvárez-Machain and promised that he would be prosecuted in

The Mexican Embassy in Washington reiterated its view that the abduction "violated inter-

The government of Canada, which also has an extradition treaty with the United States, an extrantion treaty with the Onited States, filed a brief in the case supporting Mexico and asserting that "such abductions cootravene fundamental principles of justice that Canada has sought to uphold."

But Attorney General William P. Barr called the ruling "an important victory in our ongoing efforts against terrorists and narcotraffickers who operate against the United States from

Mr. Barr, who as head of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel authored a controversial opinion that the FBI had authority to violate international law and arrest individuals overseas, said the court's decision "vindicates the position we have taken from the outset in this case."

The ruling does oot directly affect the case of Manuel Antonio Noriega, the former Panamanian leader, since the Panamanian government did not protest the handing over of Mr. Noreiga

to the United States. But it does appear to place an additional roadblock in the path of Mr. Noriega's lawyers, who have argued that his arrest was the illegal fruit of an illegal invasion. Mr. Noreiga was convicted of racketeering and drug trafficking in April and is awaiting

sentencing.
The federal appeals court in California had ordered the return of Mr. Alvarez-Machain and had overturned the conviction of René Martin Verdugo-Urquidez, who was also abducted to stand trial in the United States for the torture

The government's appeal in the Verdugo-Urquidez case has been pending at the high court, awaiting the outcome of United States v. Alvárez-Machain.

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, writing for the court, said that although such kidnacpings may be "shocking" and violate international law, they are not prohibited by the extra-

dition treaty or the constitution.
"The fact of forcible abduction does oot therefore prohibit his trial in a court in the United States for violations of the criminal laws of the United States," he said.

Justice John Paul Stevens, in a dissenting opinion joined by Justices Harry A. Blackmun and Sandra Day O'Connor, said the "desire for revenge" was "no justification for disregarding the rule of law that this court has a duty to

Courts "throughout the civilized world will be deeply disturbed by the monstrous decision the court announces today," Justice Stevens

The court has said for more than a century that prosecutions were not prohibited simply because the defendant's presence had been procured by questionable means, Justice Stevens said the majority's view

would transform the extradition treaty "into little more than verbiage." Some foreign experts coodemned the Su-preme Court's ruling, The Associated Press reported from Washington.

"This is a revolutionary decision for U.S. needs," Isser Harel, a former head of Mossad, Israel's secret service, said in Jerusalem. "f: shows that when they need it, everything is

kosher, but if others oced it, it's illegal."

Yeltsin Names a Reformer

To Be His Prime Minister

Arno Klarsfeld, an attorney familiar with See KIDNAP, Page 6

RELIGIATE STUDENTS SPEAK UP — Belgrade University students at a raily Monday demanding that President Slobodan Milosogic "go away." In Sarajevo, a fragile UN-arranged cease-fire still seemed to be holding, despite scattered violations. Page 2.

Victory for Miyazawa: Troop Bill Clears Final Hurdle

By David E. Sanger

New York Times Service TOKYO - Ending nearly two years of actimonious debate about how to reinterpret Ja-pan's "peace constitution," parliament on Monday approved legislation that allows Japanese military forces to venture abroad for the first time since World War II.

The vote, seen as a victory for Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, paved the way for troops to

ioin United Nations peacekeepers in Cambodia

as soon as the end of this year. For Japan, the passage of the bill marked an historic and emotional change of course, one that the nation's conservative government insisted was long overdne in a post-Cold War world and one that opposition leaders warned could lead to disaster.

The debate on the use of force - even in the name of international peacekeeping — re-sounded with memories of the rise of militarism destruction throughout Asia that followed

Passage came after a wild day of last-minute maneuvering by the opposition Socialists to kill the effort, including an attempt by all 137 Socialist lawmakers in the Diet's lower house to resign en masse. Though the effort, which required approval of the full parliament, failed, the Socialists boycotted the vote.

The bill's passage seemed to be a major boost for Mr. Miyazawa. At the Munich meeting next

here in the 1930s and the waves of death and mouth of the world's seven largest industrial democracies, he is expected to cite the bill as evidence that Japan has moved well beyond the

era of "checkbook diplomacy.

"After the war, internationally Japan could oeither contribute with human resources nor join the UN to promote peace," Mr. Miyazawa said after the vote. "But now we can do that, and it is good."
The White House and American diplomats

See JAPAN, Page 6

By Margaret Shapiro Washington Past Service

MOSCOW — President Boris N. Yeltsin,

just before leaving for Washington on Monday, named the architect of his economic reform program, Yegor T. Gaidar, as acting prime

This was seen here as a clear signal that Mr. Yeltsin was committed to a swift transformation of the country from state ownership and planning to a privatized market economy.

The acting appointment of Mr. Gaidar, a 36-year-old economist who plotted "shock therapy" to give impetus to the reforms, was described by Yeltsin aides as a first step to making

him permanent prime minister. News services here suggested that this could take time because the Russian parliament first must approve a new law on the cabinet and

governmental structure. In addition, under the present Constitution, parliament must approve the appointment of the prime minister. Government officials said that Mr. Yeltsin intended to submit Mr. Gai-

dar's name to the legislators after adoption of the oew law.

[In Washington, President George Bush pledged to help Mr. Yeltsin, calling him "a courageous leader" who is under pressure at

home from military leaders and others who do

Kiosk

oot share his commitment to reform, The Associated Press reported.

["I am dealing with a good man," Mr. Bush said in an interview with CNN. "I am dealing with a man who has my full support." [Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said that Bush and Yeltsin hoped to agree oo more

cuts in ouclear weapons but that "four or five" problems remain to be resolved, Reuters re-President Yeltsin, at an airport oews conference, said be was looking forward to a productive meeting with Mr. Bush and intended to

extend my hand to the American people for cooperation and for friendship because we are no longer enemies, and we will never be." He also said he intended to contact Russia's most famous living writer, Alexander L Solzhenitsyn, who has been in exile in Vermont, and

ask him to return home. Mr. Solzhenitsvn was arrested and expelled in 1974. Mr. Yeltsin stressed in reference to Mr. Gaidar: "He remains in charge of reforms and this

means the reforms will go ahead. This is the most important thing."

Mr. Yeltsin took over the prime ministership seven months ago to put full power behind the reforms, including the freeing of prices, that he See BORIS, Page 6

Tension Grips Soweto on Anniversary of 1976 Uprising

By David B. Ottaway Washington Past Service SOWETO, South Africa -Charles Vusi Magubane's funeral, like his death in the prime of life,

reflect the ugly times in South Afri-At Mr. Magubane's confused funeral, as well as in other parts of Soweto, it seemed clear that South Africa's largest black township was on the verge of explosion. Many

fear that it could happen Tuesday. the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto

Mr. Magnbane's father, Peter Magnbane, a prize-winning local photographer for Time magazine, had hunted everywhere for his son, 30, who had last been home on May 18. Peter Magubane found him last Tuesday "in the last place I suspected" -- the morgue. Charles Magnbane's body had a body was found near the hostel has work themselves up for revenge.

Freedom Party, led by Zulu Chief bitter rival.
Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

lying near a men's bostel that serves gress that he must have been anoth-as a stronghold of the Inkatha er victim of Inkatha, the ANC's

The two groups' enmity has been Nobody knows who killed Mr. cited as a chief factor in the town-Magubane — or even whether he ship violence that has cost an esti-

was the victim of thieves or of a mated 12,000 lives since 1984. political vendetta. But the way he was killed and the fact that his "the commades," used the funeral to

gunshot wound in the head and convinced his father and the young knowing that Inkatha youths were hack wounds. The police found it men of the African National Conon the march in Soweto on their way to and from a rally in the

Jabulani Stadium. While the Reverend Modalepula Chabala tried to lead mourners at Mr. Magubane's burial in hymns, they sang war songs, shouted bring me my gun" and danced

"Power to the people!" they See VICTIMS, Page 2

Last Hostages Reported Free BEIRUT (AP) - Iran's offi-

cial news agency said two German relief workers, the last Western hostages in Lebanon, were freed late Monday and handed over to Lebanese security officials. There was no immediate confirmation of the report.

The report gave no other details. It was issued about a halfhour after the Holy Warriors for Freedom, the group that held the two Germans, said they would he released at President Elias Hrawi's residence in Benut within 48 hours.

General News

Dark secrets spill out of the longsupersecret archives of the fallen Soviet dictatorship.

Business/Finance

France assailed the United States for bringing trade relations close to commercial war.



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WINNER - Michael Jordan, after the Chicago Bulls beat the Portland Trail Blazers to repeat as NBA champions. Page 16.



Championship Monday's Play CIS 0, Netherlands 0

European Soccer

By William Booth Washington Post Service WEST PALM BEACH, Florida — Roger Lambert Specifically, Mr. Lambert contends in a lawsuit that his suspects nothing less than the first known case of tortoise business nemesis, one Owen Gassaway, hired one Larry Timm to use "his expertise as a Native American Indian in the native habitat of certain animals," to wit, to secure an dumping that nearly Lantana airport supports an unusually large, if not suspiciously huge, population of gopher tortoises, a species the size of a dinner plate that is undetermined number of gopher tortoises from nearby sure were a lot of tortoises at the airport, they have no way of knowing whether the animals came from someplace else

threatened with extinction in Florida. At last count, 34 were digging burrows at the airport, munching grass and, when the mood is right, bobbing their heads in what one expert calls "an elaborate courtship ritual."

Mr. Lambert thinks that someone dumped the endangered tortoises onto the airport property to keep him from developing the land. It is, he says, a classic shell game. The alleged capet offers a glimpse into the Byzantine vorle of environmental regulation, where good intentions.

often seem so compromised that critics question what the laws accomplish.

Florida Shell Game: Who Dumped the Tortoises?

Loxabatchee and to transport said gopher tortoises from their ancestral home there to a new home at the airport. where Mr. Gassaway just happens to run a profitable business supplying planes with gas and where Mr. Lambert also would like to run a profitable business supplying

And so Mr. Lambert is sning Mr. Gassaway and his colleagues for millions of dollars, asserting antitrust violations, including dumping gopher tortoises. Mr. Gassaway vigorously denies the charges, characterizing them as the act of a desperate man.

Mr. Lambert, a Palm Beach attorney, and several investors are seeking to open a facility that would compete with Mr. Gassaway's monopoly on aircraft-related services at the small airport. Because of the sizable tortoise population, Palm Beach County, where the airport is located, has been cool toward Mr. Lambert's development plans. State wildlife biologists have noted that, while there

since one tortoise looks pretty much like another. While no one here claims to have heard of dumping endangered animals to keep land from being developed. gopher tortoises actually are shoved around Florida like pawns in an elaborate environmental chess game. Throughout the state, thousands are relocated annually to make way for new mega-malls, elementary schools and

planned retirement communities. Once upon a time, gopher tortoises thrived in Florida. The amazing creatures have front legs like shovels and rear See TORTOISES, Page 6

Crossword



Germany 2, Scotland 0 Page 17

Truce Seems to Hold In Bosnia, UN Chief Is 'Encouraged'

BELGRADE - A cease-fire in Bosula-Herzegovina appeared to be bolding Monday, although rival militias shelled parts of Sarajevo and snipers killed two civilians. * The renewed shooting was relatively light and intermittent, and it

was unclear who started it, local news reports said. But fear remained of a relapse into all-out war that would block UN plans to reopen Sarajevo airport for emergen-cy aid to civilians.

Despite the scattered shooting, people crowded downtown streets in a heavy rain, hoping to replenish food supplies depleted during a 2½-month-old hlockade by Serbian irregulars in the hills around Sarajevo. Huddled under umbrellas, shoppers bargained with vendors who offered only onions, dande-

A power blackout caused by Serbian shelling last week continued. Only a few districts had running

The head of the UN peacekeeping force in Sarajevo expressed candous optimism despite occasional violations of the truce.

General Lewis MacKenzie said he was "encouraged" by the first day of the cease-fire and said he hoped to achieve an agreement on removing artillery from within range of the airport this week.

In Belgrade more than 10,000 students, backed by professors, rallied to demand the resignation of President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and formation of a oational

salvatioo governmeot.

They joined a growing anti-war protest, which includes the progovernment Serhian Orthodox Church, that has appeared since a UN trade embargo against Serbia began to bite.

Meanwhile, Dobrica Cosic, a popular author and close ally of Mr. Milosevic, was elected president of the oew, smaller Yugosla-via. The 71-year-old Mr. Cosic, a Serb, was elected by the federal parliament in Belgrade.

The election of Mr. Cosic, an ardent proponent of the doctrine that all ethnic Serbs should live in a common country, was likely to strengthen Mr. Milosevic's grip on power despite mounting protests against his government.

In Sarajevo snipers fired at civil-ians near the Jewisb cemetery, which is held by Serbian militiamen, and in the oew part of the ancient city, killing at least two

By Charles Goldsmith International Herald Tribune
LUXEMBOURG — Just three

days before Ireland's referendum on the Masstricht treaty. Furopean

Commonity foreign ministers sought Monday to quell Irish fears that aid money oright be jeopar-dized by widespread opposition to

increases in the new EC budget

among Dublin's partners.
Although seven countries remain

opposed to ambitious spending proposals of the EC Commission.

ministers tried to persuade the Irish that a "cohesion" fund for the four

poorest nations would survive even

if the commission's overall budget

The tone of the meeting cootrast-

ed with the hard-line approach

finance ministers, who brutally rejected the budget while making oo

effort to reassure Ireland that its

adopted last week by Com

people and wounding several, a local journalist in Sarajevo said.

Serbian artillery was reported to have resumed shelling the Dobrinja district, where 40,000 residents have been confined to cellars for weeks by shelling and face starva-

tion.
Muslim and Croatian forces defending the Bosnian capital against Serbian irregulars who have blockaded it for two months reportedly shelled the contested district of

"It is periodic light shooting and shelling, oot a major breach of the cease-fire," a reporter said. "It still appears to be indiscipline, but it's happening more and more often now, and that's cause for worry."

Muslim leaders accepted a sur-

prise Serbian offer on Friday of a unilateral truce and a handover of Sarajevo airport to UN peacekeeping forces for aid flights.

The guns fell silent by the truce

deadline of 6 A.M. Monday, but isolated shooting resumed two

Croatian radio said fighting flared anew in other parts of Bosnia after initial calm. Six civilians were killed and 15 wounded in Serb-Muslim clashes in Mostar, it said.

Serbian irregulars have overrun 65 percent of Bosnia, expelling entire Muslim and Croatian communities in an effort to tip the ethnic balance, but have oot captured Sarajevo despite two months of bom-bardment and blockade.

If a cease-fire proves durable, the UN Security Council will authorize 1,000 peacekeeping troops to move in and demilitarize Sarajevo airport and surrounding areas to enable humanitarian flights to land safely. Although five previous ceasefires have collapsed, peace pres-sures have intensified since the UN imposed a trade embargo on Serbia and its ally Montenegro, the sole republics left in the Yugoslav federation after the defection of four others, for allegedly arming and inciting Bosnia's Serbs.

Kuwait Aids Bosnia Muslims

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

EC Tries to Calm Irish Fears on Aid as Vote Nears

Ireland receives six times what it

Irish political leaders were dis-

mayed last week when the pro-posed spending plan was bitterly

cried, drowning out the minister as

could erupt on the 16th anniversary

of the start of the student uprising
— an event that shook this white-

Many fear that Soweto's anger

he prayed in a deep voice.

contributes to the EC budget.

KUWAIT - Kuwaitis have donated a total of more than \$3 million to help the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who have been under attack by Serbs since the republic declared independence in March from the Yugoslav federation. The money will be sent through oeigh-boring Croatia.

nanced within the existing EC

spending ceiling, so there is no need

to increase the ceiling," said the

British foreign secretary, Douglas

Hurd. "I don't see how the Irish people could get a negative mes-sage from that."

In its proposed 1993-1997 bud-

get, the commission seeks to in-

crease the EC's spending ceiling from 1.2 percent of the EC's gross

domestic product to 1.37 percent, which would increase spending to

86 billion European currency units

(\$111.8 billion) in 1997. A compro-

mise suggested on Monday would

freeze spending at the current level

Father's Past Haunts Bush Nominee

By Jeffrey Stalk Special to the Herald Tribune

AMSTERDAM - It sounds like the plot

of a Jeffrey Archer novel. The son of a Nazi collaborator in an occupied country, the man emigrates to the Unit-ed States, takes a middle name as his surname, becomes a citizen, gains wealth and success and makes powerful friends.

As he stands poised to become the American ambassador to his oative country, he is forced to confront the specter of his father's

This is the life story that has created a stir over Donald Alexander — President George Bush's choice to be ambassador to the Neth-The businessman, born in the Netherlands
53 years ago, has been actively seeking the

assignment in The Hague since 1989.

Before the latest dispute, be was embroiled in allegations that he had had tried to "buy" the ambassadorship with a \$100,000 dona-tion to Mr. Bush's re-election campaign. He denies the accusation.

The latest twist was the revelation last week that his father had been imprisoned in the Netherlands for collaboration with the

Dutch officials dismiss the issue as "irrelevant" to the appointment.

Mr. Alexander's father, Titus Herman Buitenhuis, was a supporter of Nazism in the Netherlands from 1933 to 1945. During the German occupation, he served as mayor of Schagen and Naarden.

"Compared to some, he was not the most bad guy we had during the war," said René Kruis of the Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam.

As a Nazi official, Mr. Buitenhuis was apparently involved in the arrest of a oumber of Dutch civilians, according to Mr. Kruis, and he tried to shut down a resistance news-

After the war he was sentenced to 10 years in prison for aiding the enemy, and he died in

Mr. Alexander, whose original name was Donald Herman Alexander Buitenhuis, was born in Amsterdam in 1939, a year before the German invasion.

He left the Netherlands in 1961 to study at Washburn College in Kansas and decided to

He dropped the name Buitenhuis and made a successful career as a banker and investment consultant in Kansas City, becoming a citizen in 1974. Mr. Alexander managed to keep his fa-

ther's wartime activities a secret in the United States, working instead to make a name for himself in husiness and public service. For 1g years, he has been the honorary

ABLE WAS I ERE I SAW ELBA — Sporting a hat allegedly worn by Napoleon shortly before he was exiled to Elba in 1814 is an employee of a Geneva auction house that will sell the chapeau, valued at about 15,000 Swiss francs, at a nearby chateau Friday.

isters, sought to avoid any hint of favoring the treaty by a healthy stridency on the eve of Ireland's margin, with many undecided, but

a 14-year process that led to the a constitution that would give legalization of anti-apartheid South Africa's black majority a

groups and the freeing of the ANC's president, Nelson Mandela, from prison.

share of political power.

Inkatha, as well as the hard-line Pao-Africanist Coogress and

"We should avoid further turbu-

VICTIMS: Tensions Grip Soweto on Anniversary

from prison.

The ANC is to launch a cam-

paign of "rolling mass action"

against the government and the

lence at this time," said Germany's tricht pact June 2.

the percentage has narrowed since Danish voters rejected the Maas-

Azanian People's Organization.

oppose the ANC campaign and

have told their followers to ignore

Niki Pilic Starting September 6 2 Tennis weeks SFr. 2540.-/week

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The Jeading I lotels of the World

Dutch consul in Kansas City, and he was decorated by the Netherlands royal family in 1987 for his service.

"We are completely satisfied with the job he has done for us," said a Dutch Foreign

Ministry spokesman.

The revelation that Mr. Alexander is the son of a Nazi collaborator has generated hardly a ripple in the Netherlands, although many people still remember the brutal Nazi

A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry said: We do not comment on the internal procedures of another country. But as far as we are concerned, the past of somebody's father or family is absolutely irrelevant." That position has been echoed in Dutch newspaper editorials.

The absence of an outcry here could be attributed to a general feeling that the sins of the father should not be visited on the son. But it might also be because Mr. Alexander has yet to be officially confirmed as ambassa-

Early confirmation of Mr. Alexander's appointment seems unlikely at this point.
Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, Democrat of Maryland, who is on the Foreign Affairs Committee, has asked for a full investigation into the circumstances of the selection and Mr. Alexander's close ties to the Dutch gov-

WORLD BRIEFS

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By John E. Yus RAMINGTON — 13 of 74 — the 1 mm of the 1 collaw made of the 1 colla

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Greeks Again Veto Macedonia at EC

LUXEMBOURG (AP) — The European Community foreign missisters failed again Monday to overcome a Greek veto of EC recognition of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

They referred the issue to next week's meeting of EC leaders after. Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis of Greece, who is also forces minister, repeated his long-standing demand that Macedonia change its name before it can be recognized by the EC. The matter will be put before EC leaders in Lisbon June 26-27.

Athens argues that Macedonia has usuand the

Athens argues that Macedonia has usurped the name of an ancient Greek people in order to lay territorial claims to the northern Greek

U.K. Will Scrap Some Nuclear Arms

LONDON (IHT) — Britain said Monday that it will scrap the short range nuclear weapons on its surface warships and the nuclear dipple charges carried by its air force planes and helicopters.

Strategic missiles will remain on submarines, along with machine weapons on Harrier fighter-bombers aboard aircraft carriers. Britain also intends to maintain its policy of refusing to confirm or deny whether a

ship is transporting warheads.
As last year's breakup of the Soviet Union confirmed the global.
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As last year's breakup of the Soviet Union confirmed the global.

As last year's breakup of the Soviet Union confirmed the global. borne nuclear weapons, a step Britain is extending with its plan to desired that category of arms. Only France still mounts such nuclear weapons.

Perot Reportedly Sought to Hurt GM

LOS ANGELES (AP) — During a 1986 feud with General Motors, Ross Perot considered paralyzing the auto maker by shutting down its computer systems, which he had supplied, the Los Angeles Times said

Monday.

His aides at Electronic Data Systems in Dallas were taken aback when he outlined a strategy to "nuke" GM by shutting down the computers, the paper reported, quoting officials who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The then-GM chairman, Roger B. Smith, and Mr. Perot were locked in a struggle over the future of General Motors. Mr. Perot, who had sold his data company to GM two years earlier, was still in charge of the computer services firm. He outlined his options, including computer sahotage, in meetings with senior employees in 1986, the Times said.

Cambodians Attack Khmer Rouge

PHNOM PENH (AFF) — Government troops have started a counter-offensive against the Khmer Rouge in northern Cambodia, Western diplomats said here Monday. The counteroffensive began Sunday with intense artillery attacks, the diplomats said.

The Phnom Penh forces bombarded positions approximately 50 kilometers (30 miles) north of Kompong Thom that were occupied by the Khmer Rouge during recent offensives, they said. A Western diplomat who has been following military movements since the artiflery attacks. began said: "It is the most violent act of war in many months Earlier, the source said the army would not attack the Khmer Rouge without a green light from the United Nations Transitional Anthority in Cambodia. "They received it," a Western diplomat confirmed.

Havel Presses for Quick Resolution

PRAGUE (Reuters) — President Vaclay Havel wants a quick resolution, for better or worse, of Czechoslovakia's political crisis as the risk of economic damage grows, his spokesman said Monday.

The spokesman pointed to reports of a 10 percent fall in Czechoslovak

government bonds last Friday, after the second round of talks ended in mutual recriminations. The State Bank denied the reports, saying the situation was stable. "But potential investors are asking us what is going" on," a bank spokesman said.

Mr. Havel was to meet the Slovak leader, Vladimir Meciar, before Mr, Mecian's third round of talks on the nation's future with Prime Minister-designate Vaclav Klaus on Wednesday.

For the Kecord

Representative Frank Horton, 72, a Republican and dean of the New York congressional delegation, announced Monday that he would not run for a 16th term. He is the fifth New York congressmen to announce his retirement this year, and the 47th member of the House to do so. (AP)

The Weather

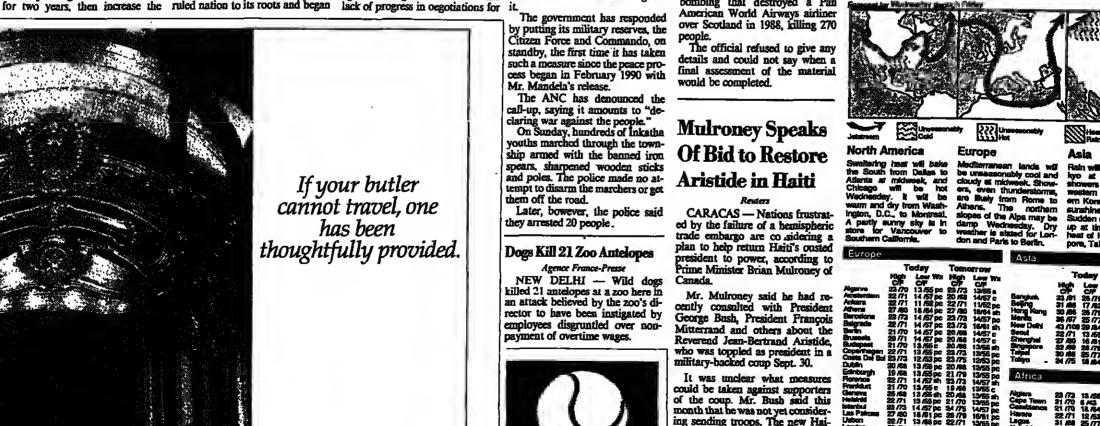
Corrections Because of an editing error, an article in the June 15 editions about Indonesia incorrectly reported when the government broadened rights for Muslims. The campaign began in the 18 mouths preceding this month's elections.

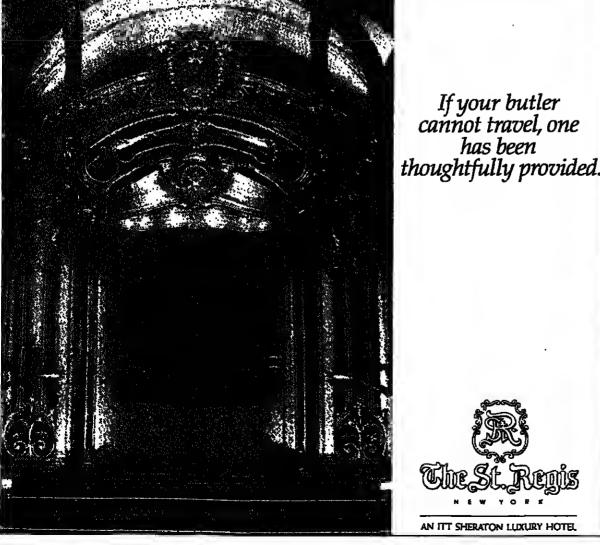
An article in editions of March 10 was incorrect in some details in: identifying Peter Bartels, now the editor of the German newspaper Super. and reporting its circulation. Mr. Bartels was formerly chief editor Bild. Super has a reported circulation between 430,000 and 460,000 copies. The International Herald Tribune regrets these errors.

TRAVEL UPDATE

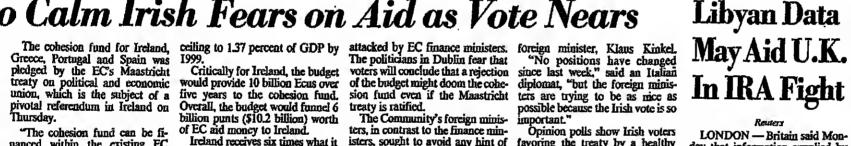
French farmers blocked highways in southern France Monday in continued countrywide demonstrations against European Community and national farm policies. It was their fifth day of protest in a week against reduced subsidies.

Portuguese customs agents on Tuesday will start a weeklong strike at ports, airports and border crossings to protest projected job losses when the European Community abolishes frontier controls in 1993. (Reuters) The South African aritime Patestar said Monday it had been granted a license by South Africa to operate a nonscheduled service to Mombasa, the Kenyan resort, but was still waiting for word from Kenya. (AFP)





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LONDON - Britain said Monday that information supplied by Libya on past links to the IRA contained details that might help in

combating the Irish guerrillas.

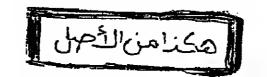
A Foreign Office official said the information about the Irish Republican Army, given to a British offi-cial in Geneva last week, was incomplete and unsatisfactory in parts but added, "It does also contain positive elements which may prove helpful."

The Foreign Office, however, urged Libya to comply with British and U.S. demands, backed by United Nations sanctions, to hand over two Libyans wanted in the bombing that destroyed a Pan American World Airways airliner over Scotland in 1988, killing 270

ing sending troops. The new Haitian prime minister, Marc L. Bazin, named a cabinet Friday dominated by supporters of the coup.







Watergate Legacy: Reform and Gridlock

By John E. Yang Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The Class of 74 — the army of reform-minded lawmakers swept into the House of Representatives in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal - still is regarded with reverence by many

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They were 92 strong, the largest number of House freshmen since 1948. They were young and inexpenenced, and they were sent to Washington to change things.

Change things they did Chal-lenging the strict seniority rules of the House, they toppled once-powerful Southern Democratic comif mittee chairmen. They spread power more broadly through a proliferation of new subcon tees and an enlargement of staffs. They helped enact sweeping campaign contribotion and financial disclosure changes.

The changes, and the sense of achievement they felt, are among the most enduring legacies of the discovery of the Watergate bur-

glary 20 years ago this week.
"It was a glory time," said a class
member, Senator Timothy E. Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, who is retiring this year. "There was a tremendous sense of mutual mission. You really had a sense of why you were there and what you were doing." He added: "Not at all like

Now, nearly two decades later, the accomplishments of the Class of '74 are seen by critics as having contributed significantly - if unintentionally — to governmental gridlock in Washington. And voter discontent promises to produce another generational turnover oo Capitol Hill.
"All they did was screw it up,"

Gerald R. Ford, a former president and a former House minority leader, said in a recent speech about the impact of the Class of 74 on Congress. "They took away the benefits of seniority, which had created stability." He added: "They underent the capability of the leadership, both Democrat and Perublican." both Democrat and Republican. The net result, he said, is that "the House, in my judgment, has lost its capability to effectively handle the problems that are on its doorstep."

Fewer than half of the new lawmakers that year had legislative experience, the lowest percentage in a quarter-century. They brought the average age of House members below 50 for the first time since World War II. Seventy-five of them

holding seats that had been Repubattempts dismayed them, as when

Many of the freshmen Democrats were social activists who ed to keep the chairmen from havtransferred their activism to Coning as much power as they did," gress. Christopher J. Dodd of Con-Mr. Waxman said. "We wanted to necticut, now in the Senate, was a make sure the seniority system 30-year-old former Peace Corps wasn't absolute and that more volunteer in the Dominican Republic. His Connecticut colleague, Toby Moffett, now a Washington lobbyist, also was 30 and had run a legislation could move." grass-roots citizens action group for Ralph Nader. Tom Harkin, also

The House, in my judgment, has lost its capability to effectively handle the problems that are on its doorstep.' Gerald R. Ford

now in the Senate, was a 34-yearold legal aid attorney in Iowa.

The class included some of today's most influential lawmakers: George Miller, Democrat of California, the Interior Committee chairman; Representative Willis D. Gradison Jr. of Ohio, the ranking Republican on the budget commit-tee and a senior member of the Ways and Means Committee; and Representative Henry A. Waxman, Democrat of California, chairman of the Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the envi-

The new House Democrats first met as a group one December day in 1974. One by one, each told how he or she — there were just four women — had gotten there and what each wanted to do. They spoke of ending the war in Vietnam and overhauling the House, which, because of the seniority system, was dominated by conservative Southerners, most of whom occu-

They had the voting strength to do most of what they wanted. They represented more than a quarter of House Democrats and nearly a fifth of the entire House. They supplied the troops that veteran re-formers occided to push through some of the broadest changes m House procedures in nearly three

tinally grew impatient with the grilling he was getting, rose from his seat and growled: "All right, boys and girls, let me tell you what Sometimes, their early overhaul they turned their sights to the House power structure. "We wantn's really like here."

House Democrats ousted him, 144 to 141.

While the changes, all in the name of making the House more democratic, were widely lauded, power could be put in the hands of there is now a feeling among many the Democratic caucus and the that they also contributed to make leaders, so important, progressive it more unwieldy and difficult to manage in a variety of ways. House Democratic Caucus rules

Nearly 20 years later, the Class of '74 is older, wiser and, in some cases, frustrated and angry.

• Twenty-eight have been defeated for re-election to the House, including two so far this year.

The Democratic Class of 74 Twenty-four chose oot to seek asked all the chairmen to address it re-election to the House - some to seek higher office - and three are in preparation for the vote, Most refused. Then, the freshmen anretiring this year. nounced they would oot vote for • Four were caught in scandal, including two who became en-

any chairman who did not comply. One by one, these proud, powerful lords of Congress relented. snared in Abscam. • Nine of them had more than 100 overdrafts each from the The late House Armed Services Committee Chairman, F. Edward House Bank between July 1, 1988, and Oct. 3, 1991, this year's Capitol Hebert, Democrat of Louisiana, probably sealed his fate when he Hill scandal.



HANDS ACROSS THE DIVIDE IN L.A. -- A few of the more than 10,000 people who linked hands to form a 10-mile chain in neighborhoods hardest hit by the Los Angeles riots. The event, sponsored by religious groups, involved members of all races.

Perot's Unnerving Political Effect Eliminates June Siesta

By Robin Toner

were changed to require that com-

mittee chairmen be elected by se-

cret ballot at the beginning of each new Congress. Previously, one-lifth

of the caucus was needed to force a

vote on a chairman.

New York Times Service WASHINGTON — The clear lesson so far about a three-way presidential campaign is that there

are on intermissions. So the ordinarily languid month of June, falling between the end of the primaries and the beginning of the conventions, has become a season of elbowing, risk-taking and

strugging for position. As recently as a few weeks ago, the campaigns of President George Bush and Bill Clinton seemed utterly confounded by the dynamics of this race. Now, prodded by Ross Perot, they are making decisions and taking action.

The Bush campaign, unable to reverse the president's slide in the polls, is trying at least to stabilize his political condition by making Mr. Perot seem like a frightening, macceptable alternative.

The Clintoo campaign, after weeks of drift, is trying to regain attention by giving the governor of Arkansas an edge and defining him as something more than just anoth-

bow Coalition and chide it for ra- chael S. Dukakis in 1988. cial insensitivity -- toward whites.

visers know he is not yet ready for. and leadership traits.

Those who doubt the intensity of this race, five mooths before Elec-slashing and burning, Mr. Bush is tion Day, need only listen to the attacks on Mr. Perot now coming With a series of foreign policy from the president's surrogates. Rich Bond, the Republican Par-

ty's national chairman, pointed the way last week in a speech to a convention of bakers.

with "the risk factor that will be involved in making that choice for this nation and this world over the next four years, then your man is the Bush campaign will try to chip away at Mr. Perot's coalition along

er politician — to wit, a Democratic nominee willing to go before the Reverend Jesse L. Jacksoo's Rain-

This strategy dovetails with the The Perot campaign, oow consistently leading in polls, is trying to let Perot be Perot, while fending off the follow-up questions that his ad-

While the surrogates are busy

events, beginning with last week's trip to Panama and Rio de Janeiro, the Bush campaign hoped to highlight his image as a steady com-mander in chief. But last week's "If you want a vague, mysterious trip was less than triumphant, be-and authoritarian figure," he said, ginning with the episode of tear gas ginning with the episode of tear gas

wafting over Mr. Bush in Panama. Charles Black, a campaign aide, has made it clear in recent days that

ideological lines, through issues like support for abortion rights and his opposition to the Gulf War. In the Democratic Party, mean-

while, there are voices urging Mr. Clinton to move left and focus similar attentioo on his party's base. The most prominent, perhaps, is Mr. Jackson, who used his Rainbow Coalition meeting over the weekend to make the case for the oew arithmetic of a three-way race. which, he feels, could provide vic-

tory by galvanizing and turning out the Democratic core voter. Mr. Clinton countered with a speech on the "remarkable com-monality" between the group's goals and his own, like a oeed to

reinvest in the nation's economy But he also sought to signal his independence, chiding the group for giving a platform to Sister Soul-

saying after the riot in Los Angeles, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"

[Mr. Clinton stuck by his criticism Monday, saying Sister Souljah's comments were an example of "how profoundly alienated and divided some of us are." His remarks, on "CBS This Morning," were reported by The Associated Press from New York. ["] wouldn't call it an attack,"

Mr. Clinton added. "I just disagreed with her remarks. Mr. Clinton said his remark was oot aimed at white, suburban voters. "I fail to see how that's pandering. That's bringing the people together."] Mr. Clinton is trying to reclaim

the themes and the image he began with in this campaign, when he succeeded in casting himself as a oew kind of Democrat, gutsy jah, a rap performer who was enough to break with the old ortho-quoted by The Washington Post as doxies, not beholden to cooven-

up to constituents like Mr. Jackson. This, of course, is the very posi-

tion now held by Mr. Perot.
Allies said Mr. Clinton would also be refocusing his often meandering message with a single-minded emphasis on economics, which his strategists believe will remain the driving issue of this campaign. The Democrats, whose candidate is third in the polls, have oot

embarked on a campaign of attacking Mr. Perot with the intensity the epublicans have. The Clinton campaign views much of Mr. Perot's support as an

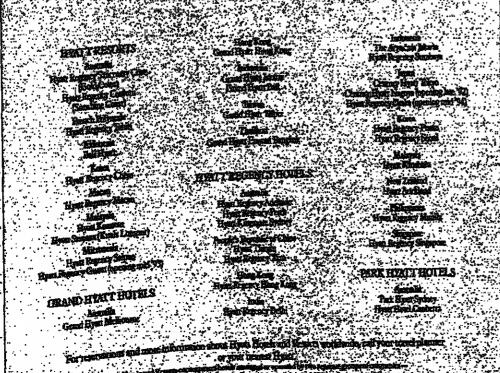
anti-Bush vote that could, eventually, come their way.

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Herald Tribune

A Rio Lesson: Nations and Grass Roots Are Often Poles Apart

By Barbara Crossette

New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — Environmentalists from North and South, who may not agree on much else, are united on one contention: The people most likely to make a success of saving the planet will not be found in large international bodies but in small grass-roots organizations caring for their own land.

Whether governments in developing nations will allow them to assume this role is another matter.

In some of the nations whose leaders were most strident at the Earth Summit in Rio in condemning the industrial world — among them Malaysia, India and Indonesia — environmental groups and individual campaigners have been harassed, assaulted and arrested. In Keoya, an environmentalist, Wangari Masthai, was nearly beaten to death by

"The Third World cannot wrap itself in a green flag and lecture to everybody," said Michael Wright, vice president of the World Wildlife Fund, "It's a mixed

While good working relationships be-tween governments and grass-roots orga-nizations have developed in places as

NEWS ANALYSIS

scattered as Zimbahwe, Costa Rica or Bangladesh, leaders of environmental and social-action groups in many other developing countries have drawn official ire by challenging government excuses for environmental failures.

These dissident environmentalists say, for example, that poverty is frequently not the main cause of the degradation of forests and waters, or the explanation for

They doubt that more money in the

hands of their governments will solve environmental problems as long as politi-cians are not held accountable. They oppose the environmental policy role being assumed by the World Bank.

"There continues to be a significant gap between ecological priorities perceived by these environmental and social action groups and the ecological pri-orities of governments and global organizations," said Smitu Kothari. He leads protests in India against the dislocations caused by a huge hydroelectric and irrigation project in the Narmada River valley.

The project, supported by the World Bank, has drawn criticism from human rights and environmental groups in Ja-pan, the United States, Europe and In-

"The World Bank is one of the most unaccountable institutions on the plan-et," Mr. Kothari said. "It doesn't consult local people. Unless local communities really come into their own and are given control, you are not going to be able to save land and recover our ecosystems."

Government pressure on environmentalists has been most intense in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, in northern Borneo, where loggers with political con-nections are razing tropical rain forests and displacing thousands of people.

Earth torn from hillsides once covered with jungle tumbles into Borneo's rivers. which run brown as chocolate, discharging streams of mud into the turquoise waters of the South China Sea.

Two organizations, Friends of the Earth Malaysia and the World Rain For-est Movement, have been under official scratiny and criticism for years.

Another Malaysian group, the Envi-ronmental Protection Society, has been called "a thorn in the flesh of the nation" by Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad. In 1987, five environmentalists were imprisoned as "security risks" for opposing a radioactive waste.

Malaysia, now Japan's largest supplier of tropical timber from Southeast Asia; was among the nations most opposed to an international treaty to monitor forest

Even in the Philippines, where President Corazon C. Aquino has encouraged the growth of environmental groups and given local organizations and clans the ower to make decisions about the use of their natural resources, journalists who expose links between politicians and concessionaires doing illegal logging or min-ing get death threats, a Filipino reporter who received such a warning said by phone from Manila.

Mr. Wright of the World Wildlife Fund said that environmental action thrived best in a democratic, multiperty

setting.
"It's hard to find an environmentally responsive dictatorship," he said.

Judge Asserts Legal Reporting Is Biased

By Martin Tolchin New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — A federal appeals judge has crinicized jour-nalists for what he described as biased reporting of the Supreme Court and legal issues, and two fellow judges for making public statements during Senate hearings on the Supreme Court nomination

of Clarence Thomas. Laurence H. Silberman, of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, said the press had "accepted and embraced the tenets of judicial activism."

"The truth is that the lawyerreporters are among the most un-

activism," Judge Silberman said in a speech to the Federalist Society, a legal group that advocates strict interpretation of the Constitution.

New York Times. "It seems that ist heat on recently appointed Su-preme Court justices," he said. He said some had referred to this

as the "Greenhouse effect," a refer-

ence to Linda Greenhouse, The Times's Supreme Court reporter. He Post, the Los Angeles Times and called the reporting of Neil A. Lew-is, who covers legal issues for The

balanced, the least abashed, at as-serting the value of judicial tious." Howell Raines, The Times's

Washington editor, disputed Judge Silberman's contentions, saying coverage of the federal courts had His harshest words were for The been detailed and unbiased. "Linda Greenhouse and Neil Lewis the primary objective of The Ti- have given our readers balanced, mes's legal reporters is to pot active fair, accurate and intellectually sound journalism," he said. "We stand by their work. For the record, neither is a lawyer."

> The judge also criticized the Wall Street Journal, The Washington The Associated Press.

Judge Silberman was appointed rights.

Reagan. His wife, R. Ganll Silber-man, is vice chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Com-mission, on which she served with Justice Thomas.

Judge Silberman also criticized Judge Jon O. Newman of the 2d U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, who wrote an article for the op-ed page of The Times urging President George Bush to withdraw the Thomas commanon; and A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., former chief judge of the 3d Circuit, who wrote an open letter to Justice Thomas, reminding him of his debt to those who had championed civil

Bush Reportedly Ignored Panama Speech Warning

PANAMA CITY — President George Bush went ahead with a public, outdoor speech during his visit to Panama on Thursday despite recommendations from U.S. officials here that he give it indoors, people who helped organize the visit said. . . .

They said recommendations against the outdoor speech were given by the U.S. military and the U.S. Embassy to the White House advance team for the visit, which was marred by a protest.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater on Monday emphatically denied that Mr. Bush's military and security advisers urged him not to speak at an outdoor raily in Panama. "We were never advised that way by anyone," Mr. Fitzwater said. "We were assured that it was safe and that there was no reason not to go."

During the visit, after someone in a small group of protesters held ack by harricades there a made at the same and a small group of protesters held. back by barricades threw a rock at the police, the police responded by firing tear gas, breaking up the event even before Mr. Bush began

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New Poet Laureate: 'It's a Strange Title'

By David Streitfeld

Washington Past Service WASHINGTON -: Mona Van Duyn, long lauded for her celebration of matried love and daily life, has been named poet laureate of the United States, the first woman to hold the post.

The post, attached to the Library of Congress, was created by Congress in 1985 as an upgraded version of the position of poetry consultant.

"It's a strange title," the 71-year-old Mrs. Van Duyn said Sunday from her home in St. Louis, Missouri. "All the general public knows is England's long, long tradition of having a poet laureate, with each staying in the post until he dies. Whereas we, in our weird American way, have a new laureste every year, I find it very hard to explain to my nonliterary friends."

Her solution, she said, "is to keep the super-honorable title far back in my mind, because it makes me feel top-heavy." She will concentrate instead on the most clearly defined part of the job — determining which poets come and read at the library, one of the most prestigious venues in the poetry world.

As for being the first woman laureate, she said, "I search my leelings, and I swear I can't find any significance. I'm so used to there being so few women in anthologies and places of power in the poetry world that I

Her first book of poems, "Valentines to the Wide World," appeared in 1959. Since then, there have been six others, with the most recent, "Near Changes," winning a Pulitzer Prize last year, Mrs. Van Duyn has won practically every award the field has to offer, including the Bollingen, the National Book Award and the richest of them all, the \$25,000 Ruth Lilly Award.

Poetry critics generally applauded Mrs. Van Duyn's selection. "She has had a distingnished career and has earned the respect of her fellow poets," said David Lehmann, critic and series editor of the annual volume "Best American Poetry."

Dana Gioia, who alienated much of the poetry world last year with his article "Can Poetry Matter?" in Atlantic magazine, also was enthusiastic. "It's an estimable choice," he said. "She's a good poet, intelligent poet,

very much in the mainstream — a poet who's

comfortable writing about ideas as well as feelings, writing public as well as personal

The post of laureate has a separate problem, one that stems not only from its blurry nature but also from the fact that the United States is a country where, as the poet Phyllis McGinley once said, "not reading poetry is a national pastime."

Joseph Brodsky and Mark Strand, the two most recent laureates, last month expressed ... their dissatisfaction. Mr. Brodsky said the \$35,000 post was "ill paid, ill defined and ultimately ill executed," and added, "I experienced more hindrance than support" from

the library.

"The whole poetry program and the laureateship has to be rethought," Mr. Strand said.
"It's a tremendous mess."

Mrs. Van Duyn indicated she was not overly concerned by the dispute. Instead, she is struggling to work out her schedule so that she can take reading and teaching trips dur-

ing her tenure that had already been planned.
"It's going to be a kind of disrupted life, she said, "but that's the way poets make their living. It's certainly not by selling books."

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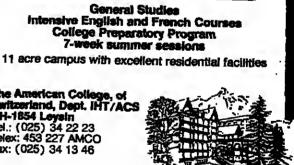
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Russia

By Eleanor Rande

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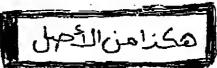
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The source of the state of the Azerbaijanis who fled the warfare in their homeland found refuge in a camp with an old Soviet propaganda poster glorifying soldiers.

Russia Warns It May Aid South Ossetia

By Eleanor Randolph

Washington Post Service
MOSCOW — The head of Russia's parliament, Ruslan I. Khasbulatov, warned Monday that Russian troops might be sent to Georgia to protect people in the mountainous enclave of South Os-setia who are seeking to be reunited with Russia.

But the Georgian leader, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, called the speaker's comments "insulting" and said that such comments "play into the bands of extremism, regardless of what national clothes it wears."

The statement by Mr. Khasbulatov, which Russian television labeled "a risky step," suddenly raised the stakes on one of the many small ethnic battles that have been raging along the borders of the former Soviet republics.

The South Ossetians, who have been fighting for independence from Georgia, have asked to be

riginary) a trajector a seguina de la

the border in Russia.

If Mr. Khasbalatov persuades the Russians to go to the aid of the Ossetians, it would pit Russian troops directly against Georgians. In South Ossetia, where hundreds of people have been killed since early last year, there were reports Monday of Georgian soldiers attacking people who had not

The Itar-Tass press agency re-ported that Georgian soldiers had shelled the South Ossetian capital, Takhinvali, with rockets, heavy artillery and mortars.

Mr. Khasbulatov warned that if

Georgians did not agree to a ceasefire and take part in new negotiations over the remote mountainous region, the Russian parliament may find itself forced to immediately consider the question of anneming" Ossetia to Russia.

The conflict "can no longer be regarded as a purely domestic af-fair of Georgia," he said. "It direct-He said that the

Both the press agency and the newspaper Izvestia interpreted Mr. Khasbulatov's statement as accusing the Georgians of "genocide" against South Ossetians.

Mr. Shevardnadze said he found Mr. Khasbulatov's statement "insulting" because there had been terrorist attacks against Georgians in the last few days.

We are taking a tremendous ef-fort to extinguish the flames of senseless conflict in the region," he added. "In the framework of this situation, Khasbulatov's statement broadly addressed to the citizens of Russia, is like another fuse set off close to a powderkeg." Mr. Shevardnadze also accused

Mr. Khasbulatov of making a "populist and demagogic statement designed for 'certain circles' that conspicuously raising their

He said that there were extrem-

reunited with North Ossetia, across by affects the state interests of Rus- ists on both sides and that Mr. Khasbulatov's statements could "disrupt" talks between Russia and Georgia on South Ossetia.

> ■ Armeniane Said to Retreat Azerbaijani units using tanks and helicopters pushed Armenians from a northeastern area of Nagorno-Karabakh they had occupied for months in the seesaw battle for the region, The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

> Azerbaijani forces occupied the last two Armenian villages in the Shaumyan region of Nagorno-Ka-rabakh, the Interfax news agency reported. Fighting also flared in the Mardakert region with unspecified casualties.

Armenian officials in Nagorno-Karabakh put the death toll no Monday at 36.

At least 100 tanks and other ar-

mored vehicles joined the assault in

the Shaumyan region, according to

an side to the Armenian president.

like Vyacheslav M. Molotov destroyed important documents the outset, tried to control every and that others, like Stalin, were last corner of life in the Soviet oot in the habit of putting their tatorship, a legacy as intriguing more controversial actions in writing.

Almost daily the dark secrets trickle out: a plea from the censors that they need new equipment to monitor the modems and faxes of foreign correspondents, made available. an order from the Central Committee to arm Palestinian terrorists or to send money to the Pol-

ish Communist Party as recently as October 1990. But with the sensationalism come painful questions that go to the heart of a newly liberated society's relationship to its past.

Might the information prove more damaging than enlightening? Can a society only just emerging from bondage cope with the full weight of its past, in particular with the identification of its tormentors?

Finally, is there anything really new that people who have lived in this world can learn from the archives?

By Serge Schmemann New York Times Service

MOSCOW - Like other post-

totalitarian societies before it,

Russia has fallen heir to a vast

trove of secrets from a fallen dic-

and instructive as it is deeply

croubling.

"We think that when we open these documents, we'll learn things we never knew," said Rndnif G. Pikhoya, a history professor who as head of Russia's Committee on Archival Affairs has responsibility over all the files of the old Soviet state. "But when we look we find we know it all, and lots that we don't want to know.

Even as the debate goes on, however, the secrets come out.

This week, an exhibit of 300 documents from all periods of the Soviet state opens at the Library of Congress in Washington.

They range from a desperate plea for life from the Bolshevik Nikolai Bukharin, soon to be shot in the Great Purge, to a report by the Novosti press agency on its efforts to counter the award of the Nobel Prize to Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, to a report from the KGB outlining serious construc-tion flaws in the Chemobyl nnclear power station, seven years before one reactor there empted.

James H. Billington, the librarian of Congress, said in an interview that this exhibit was meant to amplify aspects of Soviet history, but he acknowledged that specialists were unlikely to find anything startling.

Dark Secrets Spill From Soviet Archives

lo addition, the KGB so far has been reticent about fully opening its archives; the full Foreign Minthe Bolshevik chief. istry archives also have not been

In Moscow, a Constitutional Court hearing against the Com-munist Party has opened cracks in the most current and secret of archives, the Special File of the Central Committee.

The pickings will not be unrestricted: Mr. Pikhoya and the minister of press and mass infor-mation, Mikhail N. Poltoranin, said at a news conference last week that documents of the past 30 years would be screened for state secrets or vinlations of pri-

But several documents on exhibit at the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documents, at the nld Central Committee Archive, give provoc-

ative glimpses. In one document, dated July 7. 1986, twn months after the Chernobyl accident, the Central Committee advises against sending representatives to a conference convened by the industrialist Armand Hammer in order nut to reveal certain Soviet materials.

Another, from August 1990. suggests that party workers should start paying something for the food supplied by the KGB.

There are about 4.5 million such papers in the Special File,

Mr. Billington, a scholar of the officials said, and what be-Russian history, said he believed comes abundantly clear from that in earlier years Soviet leaders them is confirmation that the Communist Party, almost from

> A letter from Lenin to Stalin in July 1922 orders the immediate departation of a whole list of perceived enemies: "Let's purge Russia for a long while!" writes

> In 1976, Yuri V. Andropov reports on the rise of "anti-social elements" under the guise of dissidents, and in 1989, with glasnost in full bloom, the Politburo is still railing against Komsomolskaya Pravda for its "anti-Soviet stance.

> It is arguable, however, that such facts only give texture to a broad truth about Communist rule that has long been known. Many of the true mysteries of the 70 years of Communist rule may ever become known.

For one thing, the KGB, scaled down and renamed the Russian Ministry of Security, has divulged only a few select files and shows no intention of giving out "operational" information or naming any informers.

For example, nothing the KGB has disbursed puts to final rest questions about the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplo-mat who disappeared in Soviet

Nothing reveals whether Stalin himself ordered the death of Sergei Kirov, the Leningrad party chief whose assassination gave the starting signal for the Great: Purge. The Kirov personnel file

Russians Check a Lead in Urals That a U.S. POW May Be There

WASHINGTON (AP) - Russian authorities are investigating whether an American man reportedly sighted in the Ural Mountains might be one of hundreds of U.S. citizens missing since World War

II. a Russian military official said Monday.

General Dmitri A. Volkogonov, the chief military aide to President Boris N. Yeltsin, made the disclosure hours before Mr. Yeltsin was to arrive for a meeting with President George Bush. It followed Mr. Yeltsin's disclosure last week that the Soviet Union had taken prisoner 12 U.S. airmen downed in the 1950s.

General Volkogonov said Russian authorities had received a letter recently from somewhere in the Urals saying "there was an American there." He said the authorities do not know the man's identity but were working "very diligently" to determine whether he is a missing U.S. serviceman.

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Rem A. Usikov, director of the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documents, said Mr. Billington, the librarian of Congress, had specifically requested evidence that Stalin had

ordered Mr. Kirov killed. Mr. Pikhoya further ooted that KGB files were periodically purged, and he acknowledged that some were probably destroyed or stolen in the nine months since the lailed August coup. Some, he said, had turned

up in the press abroad. A greater obstacle is the sheer volume. Like other totalitarian regimes, the Communist state believed it would live for a thousand years, so it smugly accumulated mountains of paper for its anointed to study, oever suspecting that the "ideological foe" would get

there so soon. By conservative estimates the Central Committee archives embrace more than 100 million files, said Mr. Usikov, a veteran of three decades in the archives. "Everything was decided here, so there's a file on everything," he said.

Another problem is that Russia still has no law on state secrets. There is also no law nn freedum of information similar to those in Czechoslovakia or Germany giving citizens the right to see information on themselves.

The most difficult question, however, is neither technical nor legal. As the Russians discovered when Stalin died, or the Germans after Hitler fell, a society reacts in complex ways to its past. Many simply want in forget and get on

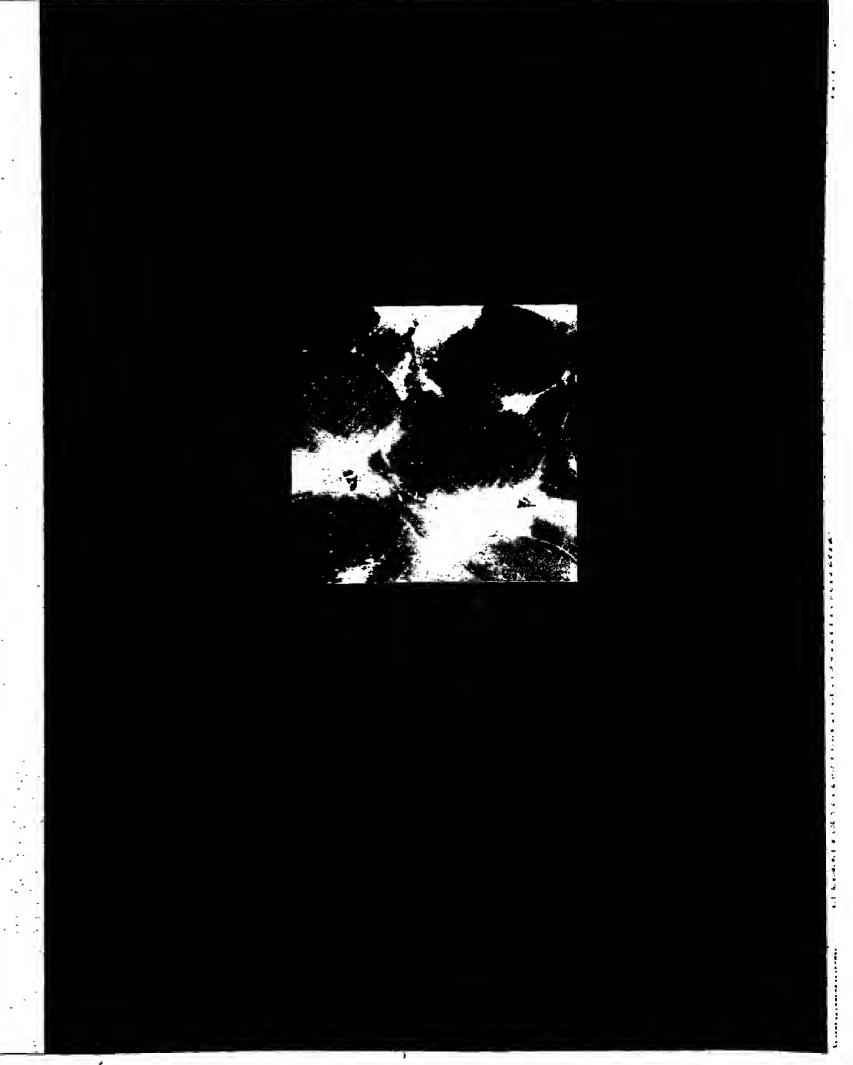
The painful fact is that the Soviet state and its political police worked incessantly to co-opt society into its repressive apparatus, and not many Russians or institutions can say they were untouched by the evil.

For people reared in this society, moreover, many of the "secrei documents are nnly painful echoes of a world they knew too well — the oppressive directives, the double-speak of Pravda, the marathon lies at Communist congresses, the bloated flattery of corrupt dictators.

Beguiling, troubling, the files are also potentially dangerous. So long as the files remain largely closed, the temptation to leak information for money or for political reasons remains great.

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YAKUZA: Once-Fringe Mob Muscles In on Economy JAPAN:

(Continued from page 1) an issue of law and order, but of the Japanese self-image as an unusualharmonious people, free of the kind of violence that is most often identified with the United States. And the yakuza have fought back - with lawsuits, street protests and, when they felt it was

necessary, violence.

Even though the gangs engage in allegal acovities, from extortion and gambling to prostitution and drug dealing, it is not illegal to be a member of the vakuza or to do business with them.

One of the new law's most bitter epponents is Tokutaro Takayama, the imposing boss of the Aizu Kofetsu, a yakuza group based in Kyoto with more than 2,000 mem-

Mr. Takayama explained during an interview in a hospital room in Kyoto, where he was recovering from an auto accident, that his group had filed suit seeking the repeal of the law because it denied them the right to earn a living.

"You may think it sounds funny for an outlaw to claim a law is unconstitutional, but this law is different from any they've used in the past," he said, surrounded by more than a dozen of his gang's members, several of whom were shy a joint of their pinkies. What people don't realize is that it will affect everyone. The intention of the police is to control everything and to

create a police state."

Mr. Takayama said be had not seen Mr. Itami's new movie, "Minbo po Onna," which could be translated roughly as "Woman Mob Fighter." It is about a wisecracking lawyer who shows the staff of a luxury hotel how to fend off yakuza extortion schemes, including the ploy of surreptitiously slipping a huge bug into a plate of lasagne, then complaining of food

But he was short on sympathy lice, and author of the book that for the attack on Mr. Itami.

cockroach in B restaurant's food like that," be said. "Itami was just out to make money without any consideration of human rights. If he's really pot just in it for the money, he should let people see the movie for free."

Police say there are 88,600 yakuza who belong to 3,300 different groups, with most affiliated in some fashion with one of the three major gangs. Police estimate their annual income at \$10 billion, but admit the figure could easily be several times that. Increasingly, they run legitimate businesses, often in real estate, construction and golf course development.

One reason they have been able to expand so fast is because of the links with the police. These connecdons were a product, in part, of the social chaos that followed Japan's defeat in World War 1L

The police realized they simply were not strong enough to control the forces unleashed by the country's devastation, particularly the once-violent Communist movement. The vakuza were used as a shadow police force to throttle leftists. In return, they were left alone, as long as they left ordinary Japa-

nese alone.
The tacit agreement has meant that traditionally the yakuza are not nearly as violent as the Mafia and have a record of killing fewer

Today, Japan is concerned less with Communists than with eco-nomic growth. And so, too, the yakuza have evolved, slipping from the fringes to the mainstream of

Japanese business and political life. "At one time the gangsters represented a social disease," said Seiji lishiba, a lawyer wbo was formerly head of the organized crime divi-sion of the Tokyo Metropolitan Po-

oper can hire people such as Cheryl

Carpenter, a consulting biologist

Ms. Carpenter estimates that, io

the last four years, she has relo-

specializing in gopher tortoises.

cated about 500 tortoises.

None of this comes cheap

TORTOISES: A Shell Game

(Continued from page 1)

legs like those of an elephant, They can live for 50 years and can eat a

But today, the animals are not doing well. While a fully grown tortoise is hard to swallow, a baby is just about bite-sized. The young, even the eggs, are bappily consumed by coyotes, skunks, snakes,

raccoons, hawks, and even dogs. But the gopher tortoise's worst

was the basis for Mr. Itami's movie. "First of all, nobody would put a

"But now it's an economic disease. In the high-growth era, the

Some legal experts are calling for even tougher measures that would give the police the ability to confiscate the huge assets the yakuza have accumulated, a more important instrument of gangsters' power now than guns. That, however, has raised the question of whether the government really has the stomach to confront the depth of yakuza

influence.
"A tougher law would touch the core of the Japanese economy, warned Setsuo Miyazawa, a professor of criminology at Kobe Univer-

It has been disclosed that Sagawa Kyubin, one of Japan's largest trucking concerns, provided loans or loan guarantees totaling \$2.5 billion to Susumu Ishii, boss of a major yakuza group until he died

He reportedly used this hoard for a series of big investments. No-mura Securines and Nikko Securities lent Mr. Ishii more than \$200 million and executed a major stock

trading scheme for him. Mr. Ishii is also reported to have used a series of front companies to make several millions of dollars in investments in the United States several years ago, buying property and control of some small companies in New York and Texas.

What most shocked people here is that his group apparently suc-ceeded in hiring Prescott Bush, brother of President George Bush, as a consultant. Mr. Bush has denied he was aware of the reputed vakuza connections of his Japanese nartners, and there has been no

suggestion he violated any laws.
Under the new anti-mob law, which took effect in March, the police can officially designate ya-kuza as boryokudan, or violent organized crime groups.

nightmare is the real estate devel-Once a group is so designated, the police can inspect their offices Today, if property is determined without warrants and ban them to harbor tortoises, the developer from their club houses during gang can kill them and write the state of Florida a large check, or the devel-

A police official responded to criticisms of the potential scope of the law by saying it had been crafted with care so that it could only be used against boryokudan, But some legal experts say it could be the year, government officials say abused and applied to other groups, like political organizations.

Yes on Troop Bill

(Continued from page 1)

gangs grew at the same pace as the economy by targeting not individuals, but businesses. They are part of civil society."

io Japan made little secret of their support for the hill, which was prompted largely by U.S. criticism of Japan's Gulf War decision to contribute \$13 billion to the American-led coalition but to place none of its own people at risk.

> Mr. Miyazawa's victory, however, came at a price that may uldmately undercut Japan's efforts to present a new, far less mercantile face to the world. Polls showed that the public was

suspicious of Tokyo's ability to exercise effective civilian control, and Mr. Miyazawa was forced to accept a series of amendments that would effectively delay, and perhaps prevent, Japanese troops from taking part in the core activities of peackcepers. For example, the force of 2,000, to be created within the Japanese

Self-Defense Forces, cannot monitor cease-fire agreements, remove land mines or disarm warring factions unless the Diet first ends a freeze" on deployments and then specifically approves sending troops to B region of conflict.

That could result in further lengthy and frustrating debates, and thus more conflicts between Japan and allies.

But under the wording of the amendment, troops can be dispatched nearly immediately, and without parliament's approval, to provide logistics and medical care, to aid refugees and to rebuild hospitals, food centers and communications facilities. In the end, parliament decided that the Japanese troops may carry arms, but they will only be allowed to fire in selfdefense and are required to withdraw as soon as a cease-fire col-

"Even with the amendments attached we consider this a quantum leap from what public opinion used to be," a senior Foreign Ministry official responsible for shepherding the bill through parliament said last week. The concept is in nlace 1

Tokyo has prepared teams of diplomats to explain the bill and its provisions to Asian countries, but it has also prepared a survey team to go to Cambodia. By the end of



Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, expressing his thanks to legisla-tors after the bill passed permitting Japan to send troops abroad.

KIDNAP: Seizures Legal

(Continued from page 1)

extradition law and son of the Nazi hunter Serge Klarsfeld, asked in Paris: "What's the use of an extradition treaty if you're going to kidnap suspects?

Under Mr. Harel, Mossad agents kidnapped Adolf Eichmann, a key figure in the Nazi campaign to kill Jews, from Argentina in 1960. He was tried and hanged in Israel. Mr. Harel noted that Israel was

criticized sharply by some Americans because of the Eichmann case. He said that under Israeli law, someone can be tried in Israel even

if he was brought to the country under questionable circumstances. Anat Kurz, a terrorism expert at Tel Aviv University's Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, suggested that the ruling might not have a great impact. More important than court rulings are the norms and public opinions concerning the suspected criminal, she said.

The ruling raised questions about whether the United States might target the two Libyans indicted in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland to which 270 people died.

Another possible target might be Abu Abbas, who was sentenced in absentia by an Italian court to life

cruise ship, during which an American passenger was shot and pushed

* *

overboard. in other action Monday, the Su-

preme Court ruled that:

• Murder defendants in capital punishment cases are entitled to ask potential jurors whether they would automatically vote for death

if the defendants were convicted.

States generally may not tax out-of-state businesses on the income they make from selling stock. in other companies.

Half in Italy Back A Death Penalty

ROME — More than half the people of Italy, tired of Malia vio-

opinion poll.

The poll was conducted by the ISPES social research body last month before the murder of a lead-

the genetic "fingerprint" of one or more killers of the judge by analyz-

lence, would support the reintro-duction of a death penalty to fight organized crime, according to an

ing judge in the anti-Mafia cam-paign. Giovanni Falcone, by a bomb planted under a highway. Meanwhile, investigators in Sici-ly said they might bave determined the cenetic "fine-trania" of one or

iog saliva io cigarette butts.

YELTSIN: Choice of Gaidar a Signal of Assurance on Market Reforms

(Continued from page 1)

was about to impose on his hard-

pressed country. But at a stormy session of the Russian parliament in April, conservatives who were upset by privatization and other elements of reform, challenged Mr. Yeltsin's anthority and bitterly attacked Mr.

They demanded that President Yeltsin step down as prime minister and appoint someone else, preferably someone who would slow the pace of the reforms.

Mr. Yeltsin was able to win the battle but only after promising that be would appoint more "experienced" people, meaning those from the old centrally run system, to his cabinet and turn over the prime ministership.

In recent days, President Yeltsin responded to this criticism by ap-pointing men who had served well under the old state system, including the deputy prime minister. The appointments and some backsliding by Russia in vital nego- other decrees on Monday that were tiations with the International Monetary Fund had raised concern toward a market economy. about Russian determination to

proceed with reforms.

Mr. Yeltsin has said in interviews that he is still committed to the reforms. But the appointment of Mr. Gaidar was the clearest sign yet that he meant what he said.

The announcement was apparently also designed to reassure the the thought to how much money United States and other Western they made or spent. financial powers uneasy about Moscow's economic policies.

Foreign powers have made commitments to provide Russia will substantial financial aid and other forms of assistance to ease the transizion to s capitalist economy. According to the chief spokes-

man for the cabinet, Gennadi Shipitko, the choice of Mr. Gaidar indicates confidence in the policy of reforms pursued by Gaidar's team, and the adherence of the president to the chosen path." President Yeltsin issued several

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designed to bolster the movement

Several are intended to strengthen the ruble as the government pre-pares to let it float on international money markets.

The most important decree established bankruptcy laws for first time in seven decades. Up to now, state enterprises needed to give lit-

Under the new decree, which

goes into effect July 1, heavily in-debted enterprises, which number in the thousands, would be forced to repay their debts within three months or be declared bankrupt and sold to private investors.

■ Baker Sees Arms Snags Secretary of State Baker said

some "extraordinarily difficult" problems remained in the negotiations for a new arms accord, The Associated Press reported. He had scheduled more talks Monday

night with the Russian foreign min-

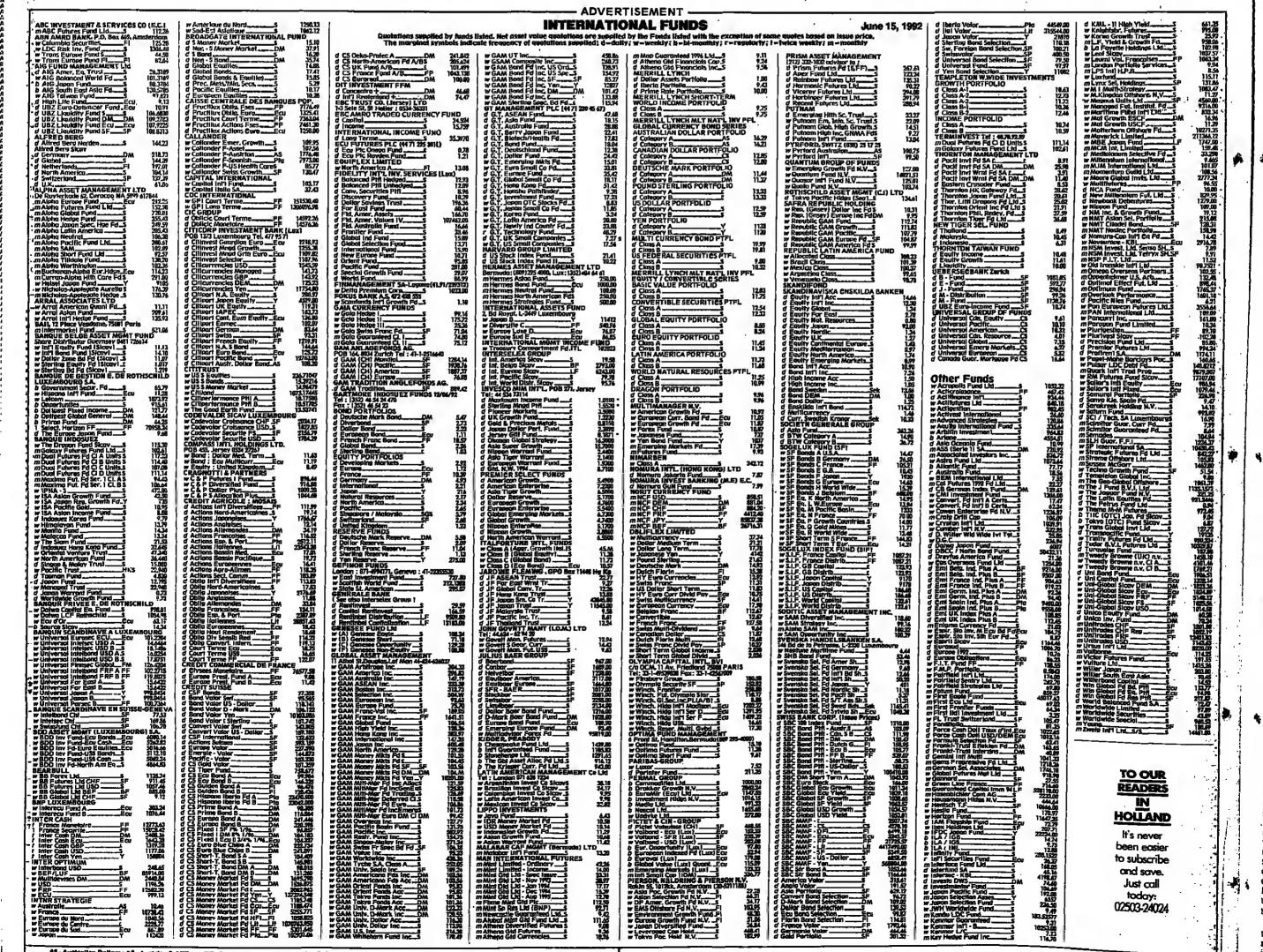
ister, Andrei V. Kozyrev. Mr. Busb and Mr. Baker both declined to say what was causing the hangup. But Mr. Bush said he was aware of the pressures on Mr. Yeltsin as the United States sought to scrap all land-based missiles with multiple warheads.

"I have to be sensitive to the pressures Boris Yeltsin is under," Mr. Bush said, implying that the United States might give ground and scrap more submarinelaunched missiles than proposed:

"He's coming as a friend, not as an adversary," Mr. Bush said of Mr. Yeltsin.

Mr. Baker said that as much as he would like to announce that an agreement is in hand, "I don't think we can we say we really do have it. 🕌 "We have four or five problems,"

two of which, I think, are extraordinarily difficult problems that we bope to work through," Mr. Baker said at a briefing for reporters at the White House.



AS - Austrellen Dollans; AS - Austrien Schillings; NF - Beisten Francs; CS - Consider Dellans; DM - Deutsche Mark; ECU - European Currency Unit; FF - Francs; FL - Dutch Fiterin; LN - Insten Lira; LF - Luxenbours Francs; p-pence; Ptos - Passtas; \$49-\$inseners Dollans; SF - Swiss Francs; Y-Yen; a - asked; + - Offer Prices; N.A. Not Averlebet; N.C. - Net Confirmulated; e - New; S - superinded; \$/5 - Stock Split; " Sz - Dividend; " - Ex-Ris; -@ Offer Price Incl. 3's pratim_charge; e - Parts exchange; ++ Amsterdom exchange; e - missuated etariler; x-not regulatered with regulatory guitherity

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been ignored. The event was inspire Gianni Versace and took a pull together. But what should been an all-star gala event husday lurned into a deba a violent storm and the wei rainwater brought down the t rainwater brought down the rainwater brought down the rainwater where stars of fashing showbiz had gathered for definition lake and crime insurance. Elion John and Stipg bravel fied on with their concert, a vestor Stallone and girlfriend nifer Flavin. Eric Class supermodel Cindy Crawford of Richard Gere, and designe cluding Azzedine Alaia and

cluding Azzedine Alaia and Paul Gaultier from Paris, clu-

ion houses from Dolce e Gai through Moschino has still aged to take in more than 5: lion from the poblic on beh

under the stone cloisters that rounded the tent. But the point had been mad the fundraising fair with goo sale from all the major Italian ion houses from Dalos Con

International Herald Tribune Tuesday, June 16, 1992









Clockwise from top center: Baron et Baronne Guy de Rothschild; Marie-Hélène at 1969 Oriental ball; Lynn Wyatt and Marc Bohan; Arielle Dombasle; Ira von Furstenberg; Princess Michael of Kent; Empress Farah.

Marie-Hélène de Rothschild: Society's Star Choreographer

ARIS - If the job were on offer, the ad might read like this: Supreme organizer with wacky imagination, charm, substantial private means - preference to titled applicants.

But La Baronne de Rothschild Marie-Helène, as she is univer-'sally known -is not about to relinquish her role as the most influen-

SUZY MENKES

tial mover, shaker and fixer in the social universe, even taking into account the redoubtable bro Astor.

At the soiree she gave last week in Paris, the baronne proved a far big-ger draw than the queen of England, who had been on a four-day state visit to France. Those paying homage to the slight figure in black and white lace at the bottom of the grand staircase at the Opera-Comique included royalty and aristocrats - the former Empress Farah of Iran, Prince and Princess Michel of Greece, Princess Michael of Kent and too many counts to count; the politicos - Edouard Balladur, the ex-finance minister, and Bernadette Chirac, the Paris mayor's wife and the baronne's confidante; intellectuals such as her pet philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy, and artists from Claude and François Xavier Lalanne to the high-profile decorator Jacques Grange. Only Foreign Min-

ister Roland Dumas failed to show. Then there were the international socialites who had come to see the brief Rossini operetta and eat dinner in an Italianate setting of verdant topiary tracing gilded arches, trails of ivy round the painted

ceiling, drapes from peach through nectarine fluttering at the windows, and table-settings of miniature cy-presses clustered round a pond in which swam real goldfish. As the couturier Marc Bohan says: Marie-Hélène has "le sens de la fête," or

knows how to give a party. "She is the genius — the catalyst who makes us all come," said a Saint-Laurent-clad Nan Kempner, who had flown over from New

'She has given Paris another cultural dimension with this opera house," claimed Marie-Christine of Kent, striking in a slender white

was also a guest. "And she's very brave to do it it's not easy for any theater," said Lacroix-dressed Marina de Brantes, whose own Rossini event the previous evening at the Palais Garnier had been called off be-

cause of a strike. "She is outstanding everything is perfection," said Sao Schlumberger, whose Paris home offers mild rivalry to Marie-Helene's salon at the Hôtel Lambert ou the Ile Saint-Louis. Like her hostess, Schlumberger was wearing a vintage black Givenchy — with rubies once owned by the Duchess of Windsor to Marie-Hélène's tur-

choise and diamonds. Yet another Givenchy dress was worn by Lynn Wyatt, who summed up the mood of the evening. "I came just for this all the way from Texas - and I knew it would be worth

every mile," she said. Baron Guy de Rothschild claims that it is ridiculous to call his wife the social queen of Paris. But how else to describe the role that Marie-Hélène has played on the social

stage since she married into the famous family in 1957 and became, in her husband's words, "more Rothschild than me"?

"I was very young — the youngest of the Rothschilds, I wanted to learn and I opened my eyes wide," said the baronne over a quiet dinner at Ferrières, in the modest chaler but still decorated with sumptious coziness - looking out on an ornamental pond. This country pad was built by Baron Guy in the woods surrounding the Château of Ferrières, his childhood home, which was turned over to the state in 1975. Marie-Hélène had brought the châthe German occupation and held the first of her famous balls in 1959, when the Sleeping Beauty of a castle was covered in silvery spiderwebs and a ghostly galleon floated on the in the morning.

"It will never happen again - it's a different time," she says of those costume parties — to celebrate the centenary of Marcel Proust in 1971 and the following year the Surrealist bell with its mink-covered plates, its table settings inspired by de Chirico, Magritte and Dalí — who arrived at

the ball in a wheelchair. "It's a very healthy thing to give parties, don't you think?" she inquires. "But people don't know how to dress any more -- it breaks my heart. People have even lost the taste for perfumes. Nothing is done now through-the-looking-glass mirror for good taste or for the beauty of and white-rahbit-costumed serthings, but to appeal to people's lowest instincts."

Each party is envisaged with the help of her good friends Comte Etienne de Monpezat and the Baron Alexis de Redé, tenant of the Hôtel took over in 1975. Marie-Hélène de-

1969 as the role model — and the one she enjoyed the most "because I didn't do it.

Her "magic circle" - which includes Gregory Peck and his wife Véronique, Rudolf Nureyev and Elizabeth Taylor, especially when she was with Richard Burton — now party at the Hôtel Lambert, Dinner in the Labors of Hercules gallery under Le Brun's painted ceiling means buffets piled with a sophisti-cated mix of lobster and pasta, caviar with potatoes or the baked potatoes with truffles that "everyone talked about for weeks." When the or 10, the hostess's "ball of anxiety" finally unwinds.

"I have terrible stage fright," she admits. "I enjoy myself from three

with the invitation, which is designed "to inspire people." For the Opera-Comique, that meant scouring the Bibliothèque Nationale for an engraving of Rossini receiving scores decorating the dinner menu. For the Surrealist ball, the invitation was printed back to front on a backdrop of Magritte clouds so that it had to be deciphered with a mirror. The next step is to plan an arresting entrance: an Alicevants at the Hotel Lambert for the 1987 Bal des Fées for her 18-yearold niece Vanessa; Ferrières glowing fiery red for the Surrealist ball.

"She busies herself with every smallest detail - everything has been thought about," says Henry Racamier, one of the small group of coat flung over her nightdress when

scribes de Redé's Bal Oriental of Friends of the Opéra-Comique trying to restore the bijou theater to its baroque glory. Foday's soirce was executed by the party planner Pierre Celeyron, as her parties are now since the death of her faithful designer Jean-François Daigre. It included cooking the diamer of feuil-lete of truffled salmon and spicy rabbit in the Rothschild kitchens and busing it across Paris. It should bring 1.5 million francs (about

\$280,0001 for the cause.

Her dogged determination brings grudging admiration even from those who have caught a trollers edge—the hairdresser whose rollers photographic studio at the Bal des Fées because the photographer was 'tired" (the baronne wanted to pick the prettiest and best-dressed guests and not to waste money on duds). Others speak of being badgered, even harangued by telephone calls

up to the early hours of the morning by this creature of the night. "I know what prostitution is - I have to go and plead," says Marie-

Helene of her fund-raising efforts. What nobody disputes is her Mother Courage attitude to a debilitating illness - believed to be a complex form of arteriosclerosis which she does not discuss but which often confines ber to bed in her private apartment at the top of the Hotel Lambert, where a maid in white gloves feeds her pills. Her hands are gnarled and knotted like old trees.

wearing rings on those hands what a will!" says an acquaintance who sees her out in Paris with a

market open to the public in 1991

was the model for the Convivio

Suzy Menkes

Hobby

Joan*

29 Contest

actor

30 Type of 56

31 "Internal Affairs"

26 He wrote "St.

she has struggled from her sick bed. A friend watched her sitting at an Yves Saint Laurent couture show easning for breath. The baronne no longer counts the champagne socialist Pierre Berge, Saint Laurent's partner, as a best friend to invite to her December birthday party (when the highlight is the present she offers "de moi à moi" — to herself). She remains good friends with Yves Saint Laurent and with

his protégés the Lalannes. "I like artists, I don't like conventional people," says the baronne, although a critic accuses her of being interested in art only to coiffure failed to please; the guest and of "playing at being Marie-who found herself banned from the Laure de Noailles." That refers to the salon in the 1930s and '40s held by the Vicomte de Noailles and his wife, who were patrons of Cocteau and Dali.

The baronne's persuickety perfectionism can seem ridiculous: scrambled eggs for 400 re-made because they weren't the requisite buttercup yellow; or the hanginggardens of catleyas to recreate the world of Odette de Crecy. Yet she could genuinely claim to have reinvented for her own era with wit and style a tradition that goes back at least to the Proustian salons of 19th-century Paris, The writer Françoise Sagan once described Marie-Hélène's "blonde, pink and blue side that Proust attributed to

extraordinary ability to mix people, weaving the political with the social. They speak, too, of her endearing enthusiasm coupled with a steely will. "The mixture of fragility - the

vulnerability of a child and the force of a woman of conviction," says Etienne de Monpezat, HERE is something else that distinguishes Marie-

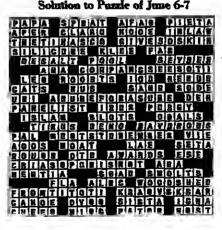
Helène from eager New World society hostesses like Susan Gutfreund (a friend and protégée of the Rothchilds) or the stuffy courtesies of Europe's old

"A sense of quality?" says Baron Guy, trying to define the instincts of his wife, brought up hy an exotie Egyptian mother who married a member of the Dutch Van Zuylen

"I want to create beauty, I want to convince people, to open their eyes, to help people who don't know how to dress," says the baronne. "I have got a good eye. And I was trained by Chanel. Coco was a friend of my mother and I went and sat on the floor and watched her work, 'Hide those armpits, they are hideousl' she would say. She had a wonderful sense of propormony, proportion and perspective is brought to the parties.

In the albums at Ferrières are the

Solution to Puzzle of June 6-7



The wrong solution to the puzzle of June 6-7 was printed in the IHT's Saturday-Sunday one is at left.

Cecil Beaton - of transient moments seared into the memory of guests. Here is Audrey Hepburn at the Surrealist ball with her gamine face trapped inside a Magritte birdcage: Marie-Hélène in an aquamarine Saint Laurent dress wearing a stag's head with diamond tears dripping from its eyes; Alexis de Rede in a Mona Lisa mask inset

with portraits of Marie-Hélène. "There is never the same magic when you see it again in pictures or on cassette," says de Redé. "It has to be part of a dream."

Who could take up the flame in a for career status rather than social clout? Few aspiring socialites have both the ambition and the means. Parisians suggest Beatrice, the Italian-born wife of Erie de Rothschild. Marie-Hélène does not believe that her children will take over "not as long as I am there — I am sure they will afterwards."

She would be a hard act to follow. She may indeed turn out to be the last of a grand line.

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STYLE MAKERS

Fashion vs. AIDS

ITALIANS JOIN FIGHT

ILAN - The spirit was willing but the weather was wicked when the Italian fashion family came together to fight AIDS. In an unprecedented show of unity, Giorgio Armani, Gianfranco Ferre Valentino and Gianni Versace planned Convivio - a five-day fest of music, sport and a fashion market to raise both money and awareness in a Catholic comtry where the disease has often Y been ignored.

The event was inspired by Gianni Versace and took a year to pull together. But what should have been an all-star gala evening last Thursday turned into a debacle, as a violent storm and the weight of rainwater brought down the roof of the tent where stars of fashion and show biz had gathered for dinner. Elton John and Sting bravely carned on with their concert, as Sylvestor Stallone and girlfriend Jennifer Flavin. Eric Clapton, supermodel Cindy Crawford, wife of Richard Gere, and designers, including Azzedine Alaia and Jean-Paul Gauluer from Paris, clustered under the stone cloisters that sur-

rounded the tent. But the point had been made and the fundraising fair with goods for sale from all the major Italian fashion houses from Dolce e Gabbana through Moschino has still managed to take in more than \$1 million from the public on behalf of

ANLAIDS, the Italian national association in the struggle against AIDS, and LIFE, an association that assists HIV-positive children. Convivio also included an art auction, a disco and a round-table sci-

Even ankle-deep in mud and with rain drumming on the plastic covers, the superstar designers entered into the spirit of the event. with Armani offering Valentino's goodies for sale and Eric Clapton trying on Armani clothes for size and for the photographers.

"Yes, it is the first time that we three rivals. "We are competitors, but for this cause everyone is equal. and we just forget the rest."

HE same views were expressed by Valentino, who had already taken the opportunity to back and promote LIFE during the 30th anniversary celebrations of his fashion house in Rome last year.

The idea is very important — to give leadership to the Italian people and let them know more," he said. "Italy is very inward."

Rifat Ozbek and Jean-Paul Gaultier, who had both come from abroad for the event, expressed general distress that the weather should rum the evening. "It is a terrible thing for the

whole fashion world," said Gaultier. "So much effort was put in for so many people and for such a good cause." Gianfranco Ferre said that it was tragic that such an initiative had turned out so disastrously.

Designers like Gaultier, who are offers clothes by mostly junior on Sale, a benefit with the support heroes to an entire generation, have names, but including Courrèges, of Seventh Avenue for a fashion realized that AIDS is a cause not only close to fashion's own heart --from the creative professions but something about which many young people are still surprisingly

At the same time, the French fashion industry was holding a similar but lower-profile fashion market in the Tuileries gardens in Paris. has been in the forefront of the "L'Espoir Fait Mode"—a five-day battle against an illness that is taksale that ends Tuesday evening - ing a toll on the profession. Seventh

Daniel Hechter, Emmanuelle Khanh, Kookal and stylish accesbecause so many victims come sories-supplier Renand Pellegrino. A percentage of sales goes to an AIDS medical research foundation that supports biological and medical research, contributes to training and tries to gets its message across

to the public. The fashion industry in America

HANAE MORI

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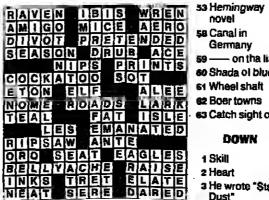
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16 Song Bernstein composed 17 Nelson is on a pedestal here to Famed Greek

33 Hideout

Solution to Puzzle of June 15



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O New York Times, edited by Eugene Maleska.

43 Optimistic trio 44 Inharent 50 Heraldic

46 Start of a Latin 46 "You ---- My arrangament Sunshina 52 Giant Mal and lamily 47 Cries like e

54 Ramedy 55 ---- de Putti. 1920'a screen Star 50 Plan 57 Cunning

Herald Tribune.

Americans and Russians

When the Marshall Plan was before Congress 44 years ago, it was pushed to passage by the pressure of the Soviet threat. Now that the threat has vanished, what is going to be the engine that drives American aid to Russia and the other former Soviet repub-lics? The Marshall Plan initiated a time of unprecedented prosperity and democratic stability for Western Europe. Bot it is still an open question whether the United States is going to do much to support democracy and stability in Russia.

The bill to authorize the next necessary round of aid is oow beginning to move forward. Last week the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported it, as the Senate committee did three weeks ago. But serious trouble is waiting for this legislation when it comes to the floor of both houses. There it will immediately get entangled in the highly partisan quarrels over jobs and help for the cities in America. Russia occds aid fast, but the United States is moving slowly.

American aid to the former Soviets falls into several categories. Beginning with the airlift in February, the United States has sent - and continues to send - substantial amounts of food. Many kinds of technical assistance are oow being organized. There assistance are dow being organized. There is some money to help with the costs of disarmament and keeping ouclear technology from falling into the wrong hands. Bot the most influential kind of help will be the economic development aid that flows through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The IMF has resources enough to get to the end of this year.

To go further, it needs the money in this bill. The IMF will help Russia and the other republics only when and as they move forward with the reforms that they have pledged. These reforms are exceedingly pain-ful and difficult, requiring the new govern-ments to raise prices, cut subsidies, close

down inefficient factories and tighten credit. To be fully effective, aid from governments has to be augmented by private investment. But before there is much investment, Russia will have to settle a lot of questions about ownership and taxation. Those are political and legal questions, and they have to be answered before the IMF's develop-

ment loans can do their job well. But the offer of aid is a powerful incentive to Russia to make the right decisions, just as the promise of Marshall aid pushed Western Europe in the right direction in the crucial years from 1948 to 1951. The prospect of IMF loans makes it easier for leaders like Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, to pursue these necessary steps toward a market economy.

Why should the United States spend mon-

ev to try to influence events in Russia? The central reason is self-interest, pure and crude. Uotil the Soviet Union collapsed on Christmas Day last year, most Americans considered it prudent to spend nearly \$300 billion a year to counterbalance the threat of Soviet missiles and tanks. It is useful to keep in mind that most of those missiles and tanks still exist in good working order. Mr. Yeltsin's democratic government will not use them, but it would be unwise to count on the regime that will follow him if Russia's econo-

my continues to spiral rapidly downward.

If you worry about energy security, you might also note that Russia is by far the world's biggest oil producer and, even amid the current chaos, a major exporter. The consequences of economic trouble in Russia would not be confined within its borders.

The Russians' turn toward democracy and market economics is the greatest diplomatic opportunity of this generation for Americans. It is not an opportunity that will last forever — or even, perhaps, through another bad winter. It is not a time for the United States government to hang back uncertainly, wasting months bickering over a modest bill to extend aid. If the IMF runs out of money, the effect is to undercut economic reform in Russia - and to undercut democracy as

well, for they go together.

To get the aid bill through Congress is going to require President George Bush to take a far more direct and visible part than he has taken so far. He has to protect Democratic congressmen from Republican sniping on this subject in the autumn. He has to start a personal campaign for this aid bill, and the occasion for him to begin comes this week as President Yeltsin visits Washington to assess American intentions.

-THE WASHINGTON POST.

Baltic Responsibilities

By peaceful and principled resistance, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania wrested back their independence last August, after the collapse of the coup in Moscow. But that independence remains precarious so long as more than 100,000 Russian troops remain on their soil. The three Baltic states rightfully want Russia to withdraw those forces. And Lithuanians on Sunday endorsed that position in a referendum. But Moscow refuses even to discuss repatriating its troops. It is a lingering Cold War borden worth attention when President George Bush meets with President Boris Yeltsin in Washington this week. Mr. Bush could usefully ask Mr. Yeltsin to commit himself to withdrawal, and he could find a way for the West to help provide housing for the repatriated troops, as Bonn is doing for those who are leaving East Germany.

occupatioo ignores Russia's obligations under the Helsinki accords to respect horders. It is oot occessarily evidence, as Baltic lead-

ers suspect, that Russia intends to restore its imperium. But the troops' presence is a sign of disrespect for the Balts' newly restored sovereignty and a provocation to people who have suffered under five decades of Soviet misrule. By failing to withdraw. Moscow incurs responsibility for any untoward acts by its troops.

There is another side to this coin. Thou-

sands of Russian civilians oow live in the Baltic states, many of them since birth. Withdrawal of the troops will remove any reason for the Baltie states to deny them full rights. That inclodes military veterans who have chosen to retire to the Baltic countries — unless they have been con-victed of crimes committed during the years of Soviet occupation.

By reminding Russia and the three Baltic nations of their respective responsibilities under the Helsinki accords. Mr. Bush could strike a modest, constructive blow against fear and for freedom.

- THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Rio Sketched the Road

ed Earth Summit as a noisy, irrelevant circus. Tempting, but wrong, and a disservice to the environmental challenges ahead.

True, some developing countries seemed more interested in an abstract "right to development" than in concrete problems like explosive populatioo growth. Some developed countries proved readier to preach clean development than to change perverse incentives that make environmental degradation the path of least resistance. And the Bush administration went out of its way to appear obstructionist, even when its underlying positions were reasonable. Yet most delegations sought realistic compromises, with host Brazil working hard to broker differences. The failure to reach precise treaty commitments reflects the difficulty of reconciling national sovereignty with

global citizenship.

The summit did manage to focus world attention on carbon emissions, biodiversity and forest preservation. As President George Bush emphasized in his address on Friday, all participants oow have an obligation to follow through with concrete actions.

The richer countries also have an obliga-tion to follow through with the financial resources oeeded to make clean development a realistic option for poor societies. Even before the summit, the United States contributed less than its fair share to global development. But the chances for any sig-nificant increase, at least this year, are nil.

Still, a lot can be dooe by shifting re-sources from obsolete Cold War aid programs and by encouraging greater environmental sensitivity from multilateral institutions like the World Bank. The Overseas Development Council, which analyzes changing aid priorities, identifies several programs that could be phased ont of America's international affairs budget. These include payments related to military bases in NATO countries, arms sales subsidies and broadcasting ventures like Ra-

It is tempting to deride the just complet- dio Free Europe. Such changes could free as moch as \$5 billion a year.

Other programs could be given a new environmental focus, and be administered through the proposed Sustainable Development Fund. Export credits could also be creatively used. And U.S. companies could follow the path of their European and Japaoese competitors, many of whom see profit-making possibilities in developing and mar-

keting clean technology.
This week, Senator Al Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, and Senator Pete Domenici, Republican of New Mexico, plan to propose legislation that would involve America's national laboratories in adapting environmentally friendly technology to the occds of poorer countries. Recipient countries would be asked to pay a share of the costs.

Aid channeled through the World Bank can shape development patterns. This includes cot only the bank's new Global Environmental Facility but also its low-interest International Development Association and conventional project lending. Major contributors like the United States oeed to pressure the bank to make environmental

npact a decisive lending test.
The road from Rio will undoubtedly prove to be as contentious and frustrating as the conference. But oow, after the Earth

Summit, there is a road. - THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

Pressure on the Summit

A recent statement by Boris Yeltsin on his intention not to stand for the presidency in 1996 might complicate the summit; the U.S. stration would like guarantees of stability. At the same time, the statement will force both sides to complete, in four years, far more than was initially planned.

- Rossiskaya Gazeta (Moscow).

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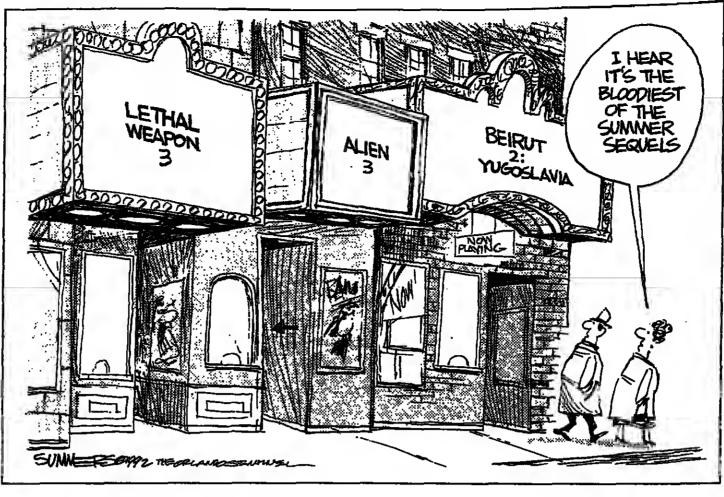
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Russia's President Needs an American Consensus

WASHINGTON — Boris Yelt-sin's visit to Washington offers a unique opportunity for the United States to put its policy toward the independent states of the former Soviet Union on the right track.

It is time for the presidential candi-

dates to agree that America has vital security interests in the region. It is time for them to take the lead in fostering a national consensus. Washing-ton should be in the forefront of efforts to anchor the new states to the evolving international system.

U.S. interests extend well beyond

controlling the former Soviet Union's onclear arsenal. The United States must also energetically promote stability, democratic institutions and economic viability in the region. The aim should be to redoce the danger of nuclear accidents and pro-

liferation, contain the spread of environmental and health hazards, and limit ethnic and nationalistic tensions that can lead to civil war and tragic

dislocations of peoples.

George Bush's "new world order" is at stake because it is predicated on a stable and cooperative Russia. Peace in Europe is at stake because ethnic conflicts along the former Soviet periphery can escalate into broader regional conflicts. Global health and the global environment are at stake because of the threat of spreading disease, the devastating pollution of farmland, and potential fallout from future Chernobyls.

U.S. domestic and international credibility is at stake because the world and the American people will oot forgive oegligence if Washington fails to assist those who are now eager to adopt American values.

Washington's response to this historic challenge has been insufficient, as we pointed out last week in a report based oo a Georgetown University study project lasting seven months and involving 40 academic, government and business experts. There continues to be a significant

discrepancy between the role America played in shaping the post-World War II environment and its belated and limited response to the U.S.S.R.'s disintegration. In large part, this dis-crepancy is the result of failure by the leadership of both U.S. political parties to explain long-term U.S. interests to the American people.

Numerous trends work against the substantial aid recommended in our report. President Yeltsin is hesitant to push reform as his parliament balks at measures that will bankrupt state enterprises and further impoverish the public. The International Monetary Fund is driving a hard bargain with Russia, as if the latter were not facing one of the most dramatic

WASHINGTON — When Bar-ry Goldwater floated out the notion that Social Security should

be made voluntary, he put the fear of destitution into his most dedicat-

ed supporters and doomed his 1964

campaign. Ross Perot may have

just done the same thing.

It began innocently enough, with his seemingly generous suggestion that "people like me" should pay taxes on Social Security benefits.

Apparently he was ignorant of the

fact that the highest earners over 65

have, for the past eight years, been paying taxes on half their Social Security benefits.

could save \$20 billion a year through his soak-the-elderly-rich

approach. However, it turned out that — using the most recent figures available, in 1988 — that this

would cut off all benefits to older

couples with a household income of \$60,000 or more. These people do not deserve to be penalized now

He then went on the "Today" show for the sort of powder-puff questioning that he likes from call-

ins, but one of his own supporters, a retiree named Roberta, from Vero

Beach, Florida, said she had been

The good-of-boy veneer peeled away and Mr. Perot lashed out at those who supplied the factual con-

sequences to his proposal. He ac-

cused "some squirtel over there in OMB trying to con the press to do a gotcha on me" and complained that 1988 figures were "false and phony."

'shocked" by his proposal.

for a lifetime's work and thrift.

Then Mr. Perot boasted that he

By Max M. Kampelman and Hans Binnendijk

economic transitions in history. And the 1992 election campaign in the United States has focused attention inward and influenced presidential candidates to take cautious positions with respect to foreign policy.

Congress hesitates to pass even a modest Freedom Support Act with provisions for IMF funding, support for a ruble stabilization fund and waivers of Cold War prohibitions of

aid to the Soviet Union.

It would be a national tragedy if the United States allowed election year politics, unfortunate legislative packaging and inevitable delays in Moscow to blur the national vision. The West has been lucky to date; most of the dire forecasts of the past year about political and economic disintegration have not been realized, But the United States cannot continue to drag its feet,

Americans have to recognize that the radical movement toward democratic and economic reform will be an imperfect process at best, that there will be many setbacks along the way, and that they must move rapidly if

they are to help sustain the process. Our working groop has urged adoption of a comprehensive program to facilitate the transition. Elements of the program include:

• Urgent humanitarian aid to im-

prove health and environmental conditions that are far worse than is generally realized. · A people-to-people and institu-

tion-to-institution program to help develop civil societies in the new states. Long-term, large-scale economic ic and technical aid to prevent a collapse of health standards and to promote development of infrastructure and resumption of vital production. Creative approaches to military issues to stabilize the international strategic balance on the basis of pari-

ty and prevent proliferation. Active diplomacy to promote re-gional stability and prevent the violent change that can lead to political

and economic disintegration. Strengthening the United Nations so that it can maintain and expand its peacekeeping operations.

A national consensus has to be

created if this ambitious program is to be carried out. Many of the work-ing group's recommendations have been endorsed by the Bush adminis-tration and by the Democratic leadership. The significant discrepancy between declared objectives and the resources committed to achieving them reflects leaders' failure to explain the need for such a program.

Our working group recommended setting up a bipartisan commission to generate a national consensus in favor of extensive support for the new states. The Yeltsin visit offers an opportunity to create such a consensus more quickly. We urge the presi-dential candidates to seize the opportunity hy forcefully endorsing the Freedom Support Act as an important first step. This would enable Mr. Yeltsin to return to Moscow with added clout in his battle to bring about reform.

Mr. Kampelman is o former strategic arms control negotiator. Mr. Binnendijk is director of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. They contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

does oot make the cause less legiti-mate or less liberal. If it was right for

James Baker to travel to each new

about minority rights, it cannot be

Help Him Stand Up to Russian Hawks WASHINGTON — When Boris Yeltsin marts with Garris By Stephen Sestanovich launched in the name of protecting embattled minorities, but that fact

Yeltsin meets with George Bush at the White House this Tuesday, the most controversial issue in Russian foreign policy will probably not even be on the agenda. That issue the fate of 25 million Russians who live ontside Russia - may determine whether liberals like President Yeltsin retain the political legitimacy to complete their revolution.

Russia is the only state to emerge from the old Soviet Union with mixed feelings about the empire's hreakup. For others, the Soviet Union's dissolution meant national independence; for Russia, it meant borders, widely described as artificial, that oo previous Russia ever had.

Amid much soul-searching and talk of wounded pride, most Russians have oevertheless accepted this result, for now. Whether they do so permanently depends oo how the new arrangements work, and no test of their fairness is more widely ac-cepted than how ethnic Russians are treated in the other new states.

If they are treated badly, conservative nationalists will turn public anger into a broad indictment of the Yeltsin regime. Democrats, they will charge, care nothing for national dignity.

To deflect such attacks, Mr. Yeltsin and his colleagues must show that they

can defend Russian minorities across

Perot Triggers a Social Security Trap

By William Safire

He gave the impression that cur-

rent figures would radically change the result. But Social Security Ad-

ministration squirrels inform me that to raise \$20 billion from Social

Security, the Perot cutoff point to-

day would be \$62,000; throw in de-

mial of Medicare, and you come up to \$75,000 per couple. The critics did not mislead. Because Mr. Perot does

oot like the consequences, he attacks

He revealed his basic misconcep-tion of Social Security: "Now the real test is who needs it and who doesn't need it." In plain Texas talk, that espouses a means test — which

won't be pretty. If words have meaning, Mr. Perol treats Social Security

insurance as a form of welfare: You

should get it only if you need it.
After he danced away from Roberta's question, singing a snatch from the hit song from "Annie," the

hostess Katherine Couric - no

pushover — encouraged the caller to follow up with "Are you satisfied with that answer?" The woman replied honestly: "Well, he didn't real-

Flustered at being pinned down, Mr. Perot denied the consequences

of his \$20 billion benefits slash. To

take the pressure off, he came up with a variation on his scheme: "I

would first ask them to voluntarily

give it up." Irritably, he asked: "Do you have any problem with that?"

dope the contemptuous candidate

Roberta from Vero Beach, not the

answer the question."

truthful statisticians.

the entire former Soviet Union, whether the 600,000 who live in Moldova,

million in Ukraine. They will have to dispel suspicion that their emphasis on negotiations is naive. Otherwise, those who are calling for forceful means will gain the upper hand. General Pavel Grachev, the oew de-

fense minister, proposes repealing the ban on army involvement in ethnic conflicts. Mr. Yeltsin rejects the idea, saying it would produce "civil war" a brave stand, but one with clear limits. Where Russians are being killed, as in Moldova, Mr. Yeltsin tacitly accepts a growing military role.

To Western ears, all this talk of protecting ethnic hrothers is unsettling

at best. Doesn't Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia say the shelling of Sarajevo is to defend Serbs? Yet the West's stake is huge: It is hard to think of another issue with the potential to transform today's cooperative, liberal Russia into a revisionist power.

To prevent this, we Americans need to think harder about the problem and to muster what little leverage we have to affect it, while it can still be affected at all. My first step is conceptual: We must recognize Russia's interest.

Many wars of conquest have been

thought she was, started to express skepticism, but he cut her off with his definition of "voluntarily": "If that will help, I'll give it up." So much for callers in who cross him.

Think about Mr. Perot's proposal: The U.S. government would "first"

ask many elderly couples to give up Social Security benefits they have been paying for throughout a working life, and give up Medicare as well. And if they have a problem

with that, perhaps preferring to give their checks to their children, you

can guess what comes "second": the

ive-up becomes mandatory. He is talking about means-testing

Social Security — the real test is who needs it — thereby double-crossing retired workers who built up savings for retirement. But FDR designed Social Security as an insur-

ance system, not a welfare system,

and as Senator Pat Moynihan says,

"A means test would turn a trust fund into a slush fund."

not yet developed a quick reaction to gaffes, but Bill Clinton, after

tem, undermining the universality of the program."

feel shame or guilt for receiving benefits of paid-up insurance. Those

who choose to give away their Social Security benefits can find plenty of worthwhile charities. The U.S. Trea-

The New York Times.

sury should not be one of them.

Retirees should not be made to

The Quayle-Bush campaign has

nissing the Perot ideas as "kind of goofy," soon focused more clear-ly on the Perot plan as "a full-scale assault on the Social Security sys-

wrong for Russia to complain when these pledges are broken. (As one Russian diplomat put it recently, "Why can't the country that invaded Grenada to protect a few medical students understand our concern about millions of people?") Russia's leaders, by making regular use of multilateral European forums to air their grievances, have already

pushed America toward a second step. This spring, the United States and other Western governments seconded Russian complaints against the Baltic states. Such support pays off far be-youd each individual case: It undercuts the conservative nationalists' claim that no one understands them. Similarly, Russia's commonwealth

partners should be constantly reminded of U.S. interest in the treatment of minorities. U.S. recognition of all the new states was contingent on this issue. We should not forget it now. Russia and some of its neighbors

have agreed to set up joint commis-sions to hear complaints of human rights violations. If the West monitors the work of these commissions, none of the post-Soviet governments now desperately pursuing Western aid will tell us to mind our own business.

With Bosnia in flames, there may seem only one lesson to be learned about post-Communist nationalism: that it threatens the peace and admits no compromise. But we should beed Mr. Yeltsin's very different concu-sion: that Russian liberalism will be unable to control nationalism if it does not also do its work.

The writer is director of Russian and Eurasian studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Rethinking Waterga U.S.-Israeli Of a Li Relations

By Leslie H. Gelb

ERUSALEM - Leaders here J have always had an eye out for doings between the Israeli tail and the American dog. The tail had got used to wagging the dog. But Israeis know that those golden days are waning with the Cold War's end. And many worry about what will happen when the dog starts wagging the rail.

So Israelis now keep especially close watch on the U.S. elections even as their own June 23 day of reckoning approaches. Bill Clinton will be pleased, sort of, with the Israeli preference. But President George Bush can console himself, sort of: with the fact that deteriorating Israe-ii-American ties have not become a campaign issue in the Holy Land.

Thankfully, some Israelis are even

beginning to think beyond elections to the question of new connections between tail and day, and of how israes might help itself and still perform a vital role for the United States in the Middle East.

Israel may be the only country in the world where leaders of all parties would like to see George Bush re-tired. Neither Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir nor the Labor Party leader, Yitzhak Rabin, nor other politi-cians I talked to this week will say that outright, but their feelings are unmis-takable. They think that at best Mr. Bush does not place high value on Israel, and that at worst he would nail the old tail to the wall if re-elected.

Ross Perot scares them, too, because they have no idea what or howhe thinks, particularly about the Mid-dle East. Word is just beginning to a filter back here about Mr. Perot's staff rebuffing contacts by American . Jewish leaders. Israelis know little. about Marilyn Berger, the former reporter who is now the Perot Middle East adviser. But they are uneasy. about Don Hewitt, her husband; whose CBS news program, "60 Minutes," has done some hard-hitting : features on Israel. Bill Clinton, with good ties to the

Jewish community and with his positive rhetoric about Israel, is the beneficiary of all these considerations. But mainly, Israeli pols have been quite careful in talking about America.

Mr. Shamir's Likud bloc does not wish to call attention to worsening relations with Washington. The United States is too popular and impor-tant to Israelis. And for his own reasons, Mr. Bush helped Likud to sidestep the issue by recently making. friendly noises about Israel, He does oot want to alienate U.S. Jewish voters entirely, nor give Mr. Shamir a useful anti-American campaign club. To show continuing cooperation, the U.S. ambassador here went so far last week as to disclose hitherto secret Israeli-American military ex-

ercises in the Negev Desert. Likud's strategy has been to en-tice Mr. Rabin into the role of America's cat's paw. But the old a general continues to dodge the tran. He proclaims that ties with the United States are at "their lowest ebb," but he stresses that he will oot accept Washington's diktats either.

Mr. Shamir understands that he will have to address the future of the tail and dog. But he never enjoyed discussing grand strategy, and his responses to me were typically hrief and delphic.

Islamic fundamentalism is the common threat, he said, and "no fundamentalist power can impose itself on the Middle East without defeating Israel. Whatever happens in this area, Israel will always be on the same front as the U.S." His implication throughout was that the common interest would be a mili-

tary-security one. Mr. Rabin, relishing talk of grand "strategy, also began with the common threat from anti-Western fundamentalism, but he brushed aside thoughts of the United States employing Israeli arms against such threats. To him the lesson of the Gulf War was simple: "For obvious reasons, the U.S. does not want Isra-

et's help" in Arab wars.
But, he went on, Washington does want Israel to be strong militarily so that "Arabs do not believe they can achieve their goals by force and so Israel can negotiate from strength."

Israel's future value to the United States, in Mr. Rabin's view, should be as a peacemaker. "The more the peace process will move ahead, the less Isarmic fundamentalism will gain."
"The more the U.S. can say it is

bringing peace to the area — assisted by Israel acting in its own interests—the more Israel will serve the mutual interest in creating stability and leaving less room for extremists," he offered. Amen to such a tail.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

and the second s

1892: Claimed by Africa

LONDON - Africa is fruitful in tragedy. Captain Stairs, commander of the Katanga expedition, died at Chinde on his way down the mouth of the Zambesi river. A little more than a year ago he left England, full of vigor and eager for distinction, to lead an expedition from the East Coast into the heart of the continent. He was one of Stanley's loyal and ever-efficient lieutenants and had ac-complished his task, and was just emerging into the Indian Ocean to make his way homewards, when Africa claimed him for her own.

1917: Flag Day Address

WASHINGTON — In his "Flag Day" speech at the foot of the Washington monument, President Wilson delivered a masterly expose of the peace intrigue by which Germany plans to secure territory she now occupies in Europe. "The dream had its heart in Berlin," he said. "From

Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread. Ever since the snare was set and spring. Peace, peace, peace has been the talk for a year or more, but it will never make headway. With us rests the choice to make the world safe for all peoples who live upon it, the German people included."

1942: No to British Rule WARDHA, India - From our New

York edition:] Mohandas K. Gandhi declared today [June 15] that he will soon launch a movement against British rule in India that "will be felt by the whole world." He made the statement in a little statement in a little statement in an interview in a little whitewashed room in this baking southern India town near which he lives on a sort of ranch surrounded by a colony of followers. Gandhi reiterated he would not wait until the war ends, though he was troubled about being supported by the important All-India Congress (Nationalist Party), one of the principal aids in his long fight for India's independence.

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regate did. No here, war, commented as SHOOT DEALLY LATTER THE son broaders to the age .! Line nere times when the country whole cin thecis and not us around town and never many a of hearings of press comit from There were those which is with a friend at The Washin Post could not go forme at without colling for a file nest day's Watergate care. literally could not want for the and television stations to rec aest day's Post stories and t 7.75H X2003

Looking back, it is easy to that The Post purished mon 300 Watergam sames. Each comparative small bits of acwhose size we were to recognize later. During that Gree su (1972), we feet letters. Few colleagues outside The Post with us. We did everything but Bob Woodward and Carl stem's heads in a pail of water they produced more stories they did week after week. B waited in varn for other pap pick up the stery. Only toward the end of O 1972, when Walter Countries devoted two consecutive broadcasts to Watergate, did editors begin to take The Post

largate coverage seriously. I re ber the day Gorden Macrune a big cheese at CBS News, at MBC and a former colleaguain at Mewsweek, called up the good news. Mr. Cranics! going to make us farrious. Nis. ting said. He was going to pe The price for this wonderfu Mr. Manning and white wo documents. We need all the ments, he said, television is al mediam." I told ham we b documents, we had never hard

was all ongioal reporting

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

OPINION

S.-Israel Watergate Recalled: The Story Of a I ifetime Isn't Finished

Leslie H. Gelh ALEM Leader to the control of the co STY SOUTH STATE Then the Control of t their car just 3

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والمراجع المراجع المرا . S. arreament 2227, Street Annual en in the Near Text Burg viereiter im ten Mr. 3230 27 22.

WASHINGTON - Red By Benjamin C. Bradlee bernot believing - and keeping out of the paper - stories about the to recall the incredibility of Watergate and to ponder its meaning. But last week, 20 years after the great American political scandal, a couple dozen reporters and television cameramen stood under St. Basil's colorful, many-onioned church, doing exactly that.

We were there because a cameo shappearance by Richard Nixon had been announced — to participate in the photo-op presentation of three trickloads of humanitarian aid to Russia and to "answer questions.

The real reason we were there was not the humanitarian aid story. with its top-heavy symbolism. What was irresistible was the conjunction of Watergate's 20th anniversary and the chance to ask its long-lived protagonist even a single stion, not that there was any real hope of a straight answer.

But the questions that have plagued us for a generation plague us still. How much did President Nixon know and when did he know it? Did he really think that there were ends that justified those means? Did he really think that he could get away with it? Had he ever felt remorse? Is he sorry now and if so, what is he sorry about?
We all waited for 90 minutes in

the rain until some minion was dispatched to say that something had "come up" to cause Mr. Nixon to change his schedule. The humanitarian aid remained in the trucks, unblessed by cameras and unblessed by Mr. Nixon. The questions remained unasked as well as unanswered. With no new answers, we are left with our memories.

My overwhelming memory of those 26 months - from the day the five burglass were caught with their rubber gloves on, with the crisp hun-dred dollar bills in their pockets and White House phone numbers in their address books, to the president's embarrassingly public final torture — is simply this;

No news story has ever grabbed and held Washington the way Watergate did. No news story in my experience ever dominated conversation, newspapers, radio and television brondcasts the way it did. There were times when you could walk whole city blocks and ride taxis all around town and never miss a word

of hearings or press conferences. There were times when anyone with a friend at The Washington Post could not go home at night without calling for a "fill" on the next day's Watergate story. People hterally could not wait for the radio and television stations to read the next day's Post stones on the 11 o'clock news.

Looking back, it is easy to forget that The Post published more than 300 Watergate stories. Each was a spect, often too cautious. I rememcomparatively small bite of an apple whose size we were to recognize only later. During that first summer (1972), we felt lonely. Few of our colleagues outside The Post were with us. We did everything but keep Bob Woodward and Carl Bornstein's heads in a pail of water until they produced more stories - as they did week after week. But we waited in vain for other papers to

only toward the end of October 1972, when Walter Cronkite of CBS devoted two consecutive news broadcasts to Watergate, did many editors begin to take The Post's Wa tergate coverage seriously. I remem-ber the day Gordon Manning, then a big cheese at CBS News, now at NBC and a former colleague of mine at Newsweek, called up with the good news. Mr. Cronkite was going to make us famous, Mr. Manning said. He was going to pull our chestnuts out of the fire.

The price for this wonderful gift, Mr. Manning announced, was the documents. "We need all the documents," he said, "television is a visu-al medium." I told him we had no documents, we had never had any, it was all original reporting. He

The writer, now vice president at large, was executive editor of The Washington Post from 1968 to 1991.

stressed what a favor he was doing for us. He recalled the length and quality of our friendship. Finally he was persuaded, and we were delighted that the visuals in Mr. Cronkite's great pair of broadcasts consisted almost entirely of montages of Post front pages. Still, it was not until well into the winter of 1973 that the rest of the American press not only joined the hunt for the truth but contributed solid,

original reporting of their own. Even so, when the Pulitzer juries met in New York to choose the best stories of 1972, their disbelief in Watergate was awesome. We had entered our Watergate coverage in the public service category, the most prestigious of all. When the jury's verdict was revealed to the

The Post had a strange source, revealed here for the first time, in Senator Barry

advisory board, on which I sat, the results staggered me. Five newspa-pers had been selected as finalists, but not The Washington Post.

Goldwater of Arizona.

When I arrived at Pulitzer headquarters at Columbia University for the prize decisions. I was greeted by my fellow board members Newbold Noyes, editor of the Washington Star, and James (Scotty) Reston, the dean of Washington correspondents from The New York Times. They told me they had decided that The Post should be granted the public service award and they intended to overrule the jury.

That was great, I thought, but it was only later that I learned the price. The advisory board overraled two of the three other prizes that juries had recommended for Post reporters and gave them to others.

By this time, the press was united in pursuit of the story of a lifetime, and the government was united in covering it up. Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein were refining their most important single contribution to American journalism - persistence. They had no quahus about calling a source back and back and back. And, of course, their persistence paid off.

We pressured them to produce, and once they produced, we presed them for documentation and for sourcing. We grew more cautious as the story unfolded — in retroefforts of the White House "plumbers" to discredit Senator Edward Kennedy. I remember specifically underestimating the importance of the White House tapes when I first

heard that they existed We worked incredibly long hours -- especially Mr. Woodward; Mr. Bernstein; Howard Simons, the managing editor; Len Downie, the deputy metropolitan editor, and Barry Sussman, the city editor. We could almost feel public support growing despite occasional

The lowest moment came over our story about a \$350,000 slush fund controlled by the White House chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, from the White House. We had reported that a Nixon campaign official, Hugh Sloan, had tes-tified about the fund to the federal grand jury investigating Watergate

We watched the news a lot in those days to see how television was playing our stories, and we were all horrified one morning to see Dan Schorr of CBS shove a microphone into Mr. Sloan's face and to hear him deny that he had said any such

thing to the grand jury.
We told Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein to find out what had gone wrong. What had gone wrong was that Mr. Sloan had told the prosecutor Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson, about the shish fund, but Mr. Petersen had not questioned him on that subject before the grand jury. We wondered why. Later we learned that the slush fund had \$700,000 in it, not \$350,000.

Once the Senate hearings started, followed inevitably by the impeachment investigation in the House, we began to think that it would take the departure of President Nixon to unravel the case. For months I had worried that it would end up as a tie - the press claiming one thing, the president claimin another and the public splitting along party lines.

By early August 1974 it began to look as though Mr. Nixon would leave one way or another. The Post had a strange source, revealed here for the first time, in Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona. With the Senate minority leader, Hugh Scott, and the House minority leader John Rhodes, Mr. Goldwater made a visit to the White House to give Mr. Nixon the bad news: He did not have the votes to revent impeachment.

When Mr. Goldwater called after that meeting, it was to warn me against writing something that would make Mr. Nixon feel that he was trapped. "He is trapped, but don't you bastards say it," is the way Mr. Goldwater put it.

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Soon after that, we had a staff



vision cameras in the Post building and to make no statements.

most intense moment of all our lives. The president had resigned.

I left town almost immediately for an isolated log cabin in West Virginia to finish a book about John Kennedy. A month later I went on a

President George Bush refused the Earth Summit in Rio de

Janeiro to back a tough treaty on

global warming and a treaty to pro-

tect endangered plants and ani-mals, saying that to do so would

cost jobs. He is wrong. Adopting

policies friendly to our Earth will

and professions related to the re-

that the issue of jobs, in a world

where people cannot even go out-

side for fear of skin cancer, is a

'A Civil War of Values'

Regarding "Government by Sit-com" (May 27) by Russell Baker:

BRADLEY J. PELMAN.

Someone should tell Mr. Bush

newal of the environment.

cynical irrelevance.

Wrong in Rio

And suddenly it was over. The

there would be no talk of Watergate.

Ehrlichman, "What did he mean?" they wanted to know. God knows.

ham, the publisher who had stood beside us all the way, had decided we all deserved. I chose the jungles of Brazil because I thought at least

When we landed in Manaus, two journalists speaking in heavy German accents met us at the bottom of the landing ramp. I heard the words "Haldeman" and "Ehrlichman" they were asking about something Mr. Haldeman had said to John

WASHINGTON — It changes names, alters facts, eliminates crucial historical figures and mythologizes others. It overglamorizes reporting, oversimplifies editing and makes power appear the only proper

subject for a newsman's pen.
But 20 years after Watergate. "All the President's Men" remains the best film ever made about the craft of journalism and an earily accurate evocation of the mood and psychology - if not the details of that byzantine presidential deceit and its unmasking.
For those of ns who lived

through those draining mesmerizing, pulse-racing days at The Washington Post a generation ago, there is both wonder and discom-fort in that realization. Wonder because few of us ever hoped for as three-dimensional a portrait from Hollywood; discomfort because most journalists in those days thought of themselves as chroniclers of events, not major players. To revisit the 1976 film is to be reminded how much in our profession - and at The Post - the film helped

change, not always for the better.

If "All the President's Men' brought a kind of final public absolution to a Washington Post economically battered and publicly reviled by the Nixon White House, it also brought an institutional selfconsciousness. We may not have been a better paper before Hollywood discovered us, but we were probably less pompous and we certainly had more fun.

Little of that fun is evident in the movie, of course, which makes iournalism out to be such a humorless, single-minded - though

Khan camp, Dong Nai. He was arrested with 22 other Catholics in

1987. After three years of hard

labor, he still faces another 15

of these detainees, who have only

practiced their religion in a peace

ered prisoners of conscience.

By Ken Ringle

vaguely giamorous - calling that it subsequently attracted to the profession legions of humorless, single-minded young people vaguely in search of glamour. Ooce they

would have all become lawyers. The factual deficiencies of "All the President's Men" are all too obvious to people obsessed with details, as journalists tend to be. The most grievous example is the dramatic absence of The Post's city editor, Barry Sussman, who played a vital role in helping reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein piece their discoveries into a mean-

MEANWHILE

ingful pattern but was entirely written out of the film.

Likewise, the analytical role of the late Howard Simons, the Post's much loved and resourceful managing editor 20 years ago, is trivialized almost to idiocy by William Goldman's screenplay and by a befuddled performance by Martin Balsam. Yet Mr. Simons was from first to last the senior editor most involved in the day-to-day progress of the Watergate story.

The most gratuitous visual inaccuracy in "All the President's Men" the repeated depiction of Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein (whom I sat beside at the time as a staff writer on the metro desk) laboring alone in an empty newsroom. The truth is that almost everyone in the newsroom (if not the building) from the humblest copy aide to the publisher, Katharine Graham -

The Movie Got the Mood Right support - became swept up in the Watergate coverage: staying late. fielding queries, passing along tips

and offering assistance. There are countiess examples of such dramatic license in the film and both as viewers and as journalists we can probably thank God there are For few of us thought it possible to fashion from the tangled opacity of the Watergate scandal a film even remotely watchable by those outside the ranks of the politically obsessed. After all, there were more than 40 people involved in the Nixon administration alone - so many that the book version of "All the President's Men" needed the cast of char-

acters listed on the opening pages.

The supreme triumph of Mr. Goldman's Academy Award-winning screenplay is the way it slices through that kelp bed of interlocking relationships and, quite literally, cuts to the chase.

The viewer hears no more of the dozens of names involved than he needs to know, learns no more about each than be absolutely must Instead, he is swept from one point in the story to the next by the reportorial process of discovery, whose techniques are incomparably conveyed, and by the pressure the young reporters feel —first the pressures of competition, then the pressures of production, finally the pressures of fear and physical danger.

Time and again, most noticeably in a stunning keystone shot at the Library of Congress, the camera slowly draws back from a close-up to show the reporters or their cars dwarfed by the vast mazes of the capital in which they search. Time and again, a source lurks

fearfully in the shadows and has to be lured into the light.

The director, Alan Pakula, wisely keeps his Nixon administration viilains offscreen — their power and inaccessibility hinted at by television images or hy a voice on a telephone or by the opaque windows of darkly sinister limousines. Despite exceptional performances by Robert Redford, Dustin Hoffman a. Mr. Bernstein and Jason Robards 25 The Post's executive editor, Ben Bradlee, "All the President's Men" is largely carried by such nuances, by what it suggests and portends more than by what it says. Twenty years after the fact, the

film is still a remarkable portrait of Washington, and of journalism coing the very most that it can do.

The Washington Post.

licited manuscripts.

Letters intended for publications
should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unso-



meeting to warn against any public long vacation that Katharine Gradisplays in connection with the resolution of the case. Anything that could be interpreted as gloating or rejoicing was worthy of a firing, if not a firing squad. We decided to give no interviews, to allow no tele-

> The Washington Past. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

where it lives: Hollywood, network

Brown stung America's liberal elite to draw attention to the case of the

television and national newspapers. ther John Mai Huu Nghi, oow 60 Mr. Baker writes that no one is against "love, marriage and family." The liberals in Hollywood, the media and the U.S. Congress have been attacking the family for years by pushing an agenda that favors abortion on demand, mothers in create thousands of jobs in trades combat, "no-fault" divorce, gay and lesbian "marriage," so called safe promiscuity, value-free education and secular humanism.

There is a civil war of values raging in the United States. Dan Quayle had the courage to take the conservative stand to the Ameri-

Republicans Abroad.

A Detainee in Vietnam Dan Quayle's gibe at the values of We in the Swedish section of the television character Murphy Amnesty International would like

JOHN J. McCARTHY Jr.

years in detention.

freedom would be welcomed hy international opinion as a positive step by Vietnam, which these days is opening up for international investment and normal diplomatic relations with the rest of the

KARIN GAWELL Lidingo, Sweden.

Equitable Bad Taste Vietnamese Roman Catholie Bro-In response to " 'Bushman' to Stay years old, detained in the Long

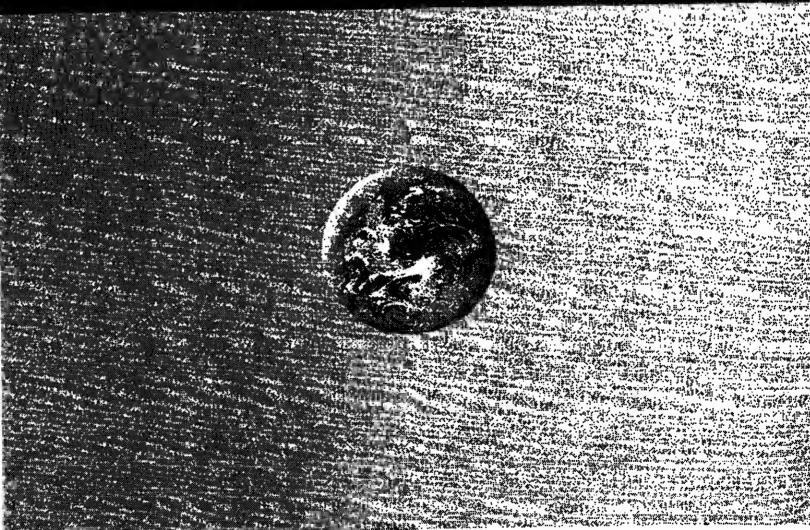
for the Olympics" (Sports, May 22): Of course, there is a way to satisfy both the city fathers of Banyoles, Spain, who understandably have resisted pressure from the International Olympic Committee to remove We urge that appeals be ad-dressed to the Vietnamese authe stuffed Kalahari bushman from the local museum, and the rest of the thorities for the immediate release world, which is sensitive to the inherent racism in displaying a stuffed black man in a public space: Recover the body of a newly de-

ful way, and who are to be considceased white man, send him to the We feel sure that the gesture of giving these men back their nearest taxides mist and then exhibit him with his equivalent of the bushman's spear and shield - perhaps behind the wheel of a car, or at a computer terminal. Displaying stuffed persons of dif-

ferent races would reduce a case of racism to one of atrocious taste. LARRY SHAPIRO.

Calgary, Alberta.

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by the Finance Munistry

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TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

INTERNATIONAL STOCKS

New Hope and Old Fears Duel on Jakarta Bourse

By Michael Richardson International Herald Tribune

AKARTA — Encouraged by the promise of stricter regulation of the Jakarta Stock Exchange, more efficient trading rules and an improving economic outlook for Indonesia, foreign interested have been provided to the provided the provided the provided to the provided to the provided the provided to the pro foreign investors have recently been pushing the market

The outcome of orderly parliamentary elections last week in Indonesia, the world's fourth-largest nation, with a population of 180 million, is helping market sentiment. The Golkar party. which supports the government of President Suharto, won around 68 percent of the vote. This will strengthen investor confidence in the political stability of the country, brokers said.

Some analysts

reforms will be

question whether

But tempering the optimism is the fact that the market today depends more than ever on foreign investors, and some of those investors are concerned about its relative lack

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of liquidity.
"It is really quite difficult to buy or sell in reasonable size without forcing the stock price

applied rigorously.

to move in a disproportionate fashion," said William Daniel, managing director of PT Baring Securities Indonesia. The market also has not completely shaken its casino-like reputation. In less than 18 months, the market index more than doubled, to a peak of 638.8 in April 1990, before plunging just as swiftly, leaving many mauled investors in its wake.

The index slipped one point on Monday, to close at 328.6, but that was still up around 10 percent over the past two weeks and

up nearly 45 percent from the low of about 227 hit last October. Given that strong run-up, many analysts expect the market to cool off somewhat in the short term.

Although foreign buying has surged in recent weeks, more cautious investors still "want stronger proof on earnings, valuation and regulation" of the market, said Mark Wyrill, head of research at PT W.I. Carr Indonesia. W.I. Carr is advising clients that corporate profits in Indonesia

will rise by 18.5 percent in 1993, after a modest 2.6 percent increase in 1992. Mr. Wyrill is forecasting the stock-market index will reach 370 by the end of the year.

Sanjoy Chowdhury, chief regional economist in the Singapore office of Merrill Lynch & Co., predicted real economic growth in Indonesia would reach at least 7 percent in 1993, up from 6 percent in 1992.

NDONESIAN BANKS began lowering interest rates earlier this month, ending a two-year credit squeeze imposed by the government to cool an overheated economy and dampen inflation. Adrianus Mooy, governor of Bank Indonesia, the country's central bank, said recently that inflation slowed in May to an annual pace of 8.8 percent. Mr. Mooy said he expected bank deposit rates to fall by about a percentage point, to between 16 and 18 percent later this year, and lending rates to drop by around 4 points, to no more than 20 percent.

But brokers said that with interest rates remaining relatively high and local investors showing only moderate interest in stocks, the fortunes of the Indonesian market remained heavily dependent on foreign participation.

Foreign investment - mainly from the United States, East Asia and Europe — is thought to account for around 40 percent of market capitalization of \$10.7 billion. Brokers said that foreign dealing accounts for up to 70 percent of daily trading volume.

[Foreigners were absent on Monday at the first day of trading in PT Plaza Indonesia. Realty, Reuters reported from Jakarta. The highly publicized issue failed to live up to expectations. It closed at 5,000 rapiah, slightly above the offering price of 4,950.

after dropping as low as 3,000 in early trading.] Some foreign analysts have questioned the extent to which reform measures will be applied. Those measures were drawn up by the Finance Ministry in an attempt to restore confidence

See JAKARTA, Page 12

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EC Fears Upset Markets

Maastricht Doubt **Batters Securities**

Compiled by Our Staff From Disparches

LONDON — Buyers swarmed mto the Swiss franc, which is relatively immune to the uncertainty surrounding the European Com-munity's economic and monetary union, while Continental securities

markets tumbled on Monday.

The Swiss currency, which had been weak earlier this year, was also bolstered by relatively high interest rates engineered by its central bank to combat inflation.

Doubt over the future of the EC's monetary union is dominating Eu-ropean markets ahead of the Irish referendum on the Maastricht treaty on Thursday. Opinion polls suggest 54 percent of the Irish electorate support the treaty and only 22 percent are against, but with a hefty 24 percent undecided, nothing can be taken for granted, traders said.

Danish voters voted down the accord on June 2, and a second rejection could be fatal.

The dollar was among the casu-alries of the roiled conditions, falling to 1.4115 Swiss francs from 1.4265 francs late Friday. European interest rates were rising, widening their advantage over those in the United States, and the uncertainties caused by a weak U.S. economy and the presidential ambitions of Ross Perot added to the

Uncertainty about economic policy under a new president is negative for the dollar, as is the fact that a rise in U.S. interest rates before the election is unlikely, analysts said.

French securities markets were strongly affected Monday. This au-tumn, France will hold a referendum on the monetary union treaty. If the Irish vote against it this week, that will strengthen the opposition in France, where a rejection could weaken the government.

"Investors are scared the French referendum will be as much a vote against the government as a vote against Maastricht," said Marc Boouslavski, economist at S.G. Warburg in Paris.

Among French government bonds, falling prices pushed the yield on the bellwether 8.5 percent issue due 2002 to 8.81 percent, its

See MARKETS, Page 12

Delors Bows On Budget

LUXEMBOURG — Jacques Delors, the president of the EC Commission, has bowed to pressure from the richer European Community states and scaled down his budget proposals, Foreign Min-ister Roland Dumas of France said late Monday.

Mr. Dumas said Mr. Delors had proposed at talks with foreign ministers that the Community hold the current ceiling for spending to 1.2 percent of gross national product during 1993 and 1994.

The timetable for a planned increase to 1.37 percent of GNP could be extended, reaching that level in 1999 rather than 1997, as originally proposed by Mr. Delors last February, Mr. Dumas said.

Mr. Delors said this spending limit would still allow extra cash handouts to the poorest EC members during the two years because planned expenditure could still be held below the permitted ceiling.

A majority of EC finance minis ters had opposed an increase. Only the four poorest nations, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain, voted for the rise.

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CIATIE N.V.

Kohl Defends Maastricht German Banks Also Back EC Integration

By Tom Redburn

International Herald Tribune
Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany and other advocates of European unity came out punching Monday in a bid to counter recent attacks from those within Germany who oppose giving up the Deutsche mark for a common European currency.

Mr. Kohl, on the defensive since Danish voters narrowly rejected the Maastricht agreement on June 2, warned that failure to press ahead with the political and economic union called for in the treaty could have devastating consequences for the peace and prosperity of Europe.

"If we do not succeed in finally achieving a breakthrough on the question of the political union of Europe," Mr. Kohl told a meeting of his party, the Christian Democratic Union, "we shall have failed before history."

At the same time, Germany's three largest banks oined forces in support of European integration. Their chief economists issued a statement bluntly attacking the manifesto issued by 60 prominent German economists last week that challenged the wisdom of adopting a single currency.

In Germany, public support for a unified Eu-rope has been slipping. Despite support from all major parties for the Maastricht treaty, a few cracks are even beginning to emerge within the nation's political and economic establishment.

The reservations many people have are not only a Danish phenomenon—they are also wide-spread in Germany," Björn Engholm, leader of the opposition Social Democratic Party, recently ac-

Most of the reservations within Germany revolve around the fear that the mark, symbol of national identity and recovery from the devastation of defeat in World War II, would vanish if Europe creates a wide-reaching currency union before the end of the century. Criticism last week from 60 economists, led by Karl Schiller, a former economics minister, lent intellectual weight to the growing unease within Germany over the Maastricht agreement.

"There is still not a consensus in Europe to

consider price stability as the priority, as it tradi-tionally is in Germany," the analysts said.

But the three bank economists - Norbert Walter of Deutsche Bank, Ernst Moritz Lipp of Dresdner Bank and Ulrich Ramm of Commerzbank strongly defended the creation of a European currency union. They called it "the logical continuation of the successful EMS and a logical complement to the development into a truly single market in Eu-

The European Monetary System links the values of nearly all the EC currencies within fixed bands.

The bank economisss contended the Maastricht reement establishes as firmly as possible that the future European central bank would maintain just as tough an anti-inflation stance as that followed by Germany's Bundesbank. Moreover, the criteria under which countries would qualify to join the currency union, they said, are "not 'too soft'; on the whole they are strict."

The bank economists accused Maastricht critics of playing down "the risk of a lapse into nationalistic pettiness in the '90s," arguing that "maintaining the status quo is impossible: A relapse to ill will, doubts, confrontation between the countries of Europe would be inevitable."

Mr. Kohl also summoned the ghosts of Europe's bitter past. "You hear in many parts of Europe the old tones, the idea that a bit of chauvinism and a bit of nationalism can maybe win," be said. "Nobody should think this is only happening in Serbia or Croatia or in the Balkans. There is no country in Europe, including Germany, that can claim to be completely free from this virus."

The German leader, seeking to reassure voters he ould not accept any deal that "does not live up to the stability criteria of the Deutsche mark," rejected recent calls to reopen the Maastricht negotiations.

But Mr. Kohl, like other Community leaders, may not be able to resist the pressure to start fiddling with the European union agreement. Last week, Otto Lambsdorff, party leader of the Free Democrats, the junior partner in Mr. Kohl's coalition government, urged new negotiations on the grounds that public opposition will grow unless the Maastricht treaty is modified.

France Accuses **U.S. of Spoiling** For a Trade War

By Roger Cohen New York Times Service

PARIS - In an unusually virulent statement, the French government blasted the United States on Monday for bringing trans-Atlantic trade relations close to commer-

A statement by the Industry and Foreign Trade ministries said that recent U.S. threats to impose prohibitive tariffs on a range of Euro-pean foodstuffs posed "the risk of a dangerous escalation toward a commercial war from which all parties would suffer."

Carla A. Hills, the U.S. trade representative, last week released a ist of \$2 billion worth of annual food imports from Europe, saying the government intended to impos prohibitive duties on balf of them if a protracted dispute over European Community oilseeds subsidies was not resolved.

Among the foodstuffs mentioned were a range of French spe-cialities that included Roquefort cheese, snails and cognac, which could be priced out of the U.S.

The U.S. government argues that the European oilseeds subsidies cut unfairly into U.S. exports of soybeans, a view already supported by two panels of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Noting that more than half of France's food exports to the Unit-ed States could be affected by the threatened U.S. tariffs, Industry Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn

said he deplored America's re-

He added that the threats gave "a very negative signal as to the real. willingness of the United States to! reach a global and balanced accord; in GATT negotiations."

French officials have recently been pointedly pessimistic in their. assessment of progress in the long-stalled Uruguay Round of GATT, talks on global trade arrangements, despite the fact that a recently? agreed reform of the European Community's agricultural policy-appeared to have opened the way for possible compromise.

Such negative views were echoed Monday by Foreign Minister Ro-land Dumas, who said at a meeting of EC foreign ministers in Luxem bourg that he doubted the negotia-tions could be completed by the end of this month.

At the same time as the tough talk, however, there were hints that the Community is scrambling to engineer compromises on the linked issues of the oilseeds dispute and the GATT talks.

Foreign ministers mandated the EC Commission, which represents the Community in trade disputes. to seek a negotiated solution to the oilseeds question through multilateral channels at GATT. The procedure, under article 28 of GATT rules, could lead to compensation for any party deemed to have been

All Is Forgiven as Foreign Funds Return to China

By Nicholas D. Kristof

New York Times Service
BEIJING — Foreign executives
fled China in the aftermath of
Tiananmen Square three years ago,
and many people doubted that investors and tourists would return as long as hard-line Communists remained in power.

So much for conventional wisdom. The Chinese economy is booming, and both foreign investment and tourism are setting re-

We want to be ready here when this market takes off, and everything we see indicates that will come about," said Richard W. Motorola Inc. Mr. Younts was in China for the

ground breaking last week at a \$125 million Motorola factory in the northern city of Tianjin. The plant will make semiconductors and pagers, and later cellular tele-phones and auto ignitions. In the first three months of 1992,

foreign companies contracted to invest \$6.5 billion in 3,837 enterprises. New investment is running at more than twice the pace of last year and four times that of previous The investment climate is prob-

ably the best it's ever been," said Ronald J. Gilchrist, executive vice president in Hong Kong of General Motors Overseas Corp. "It's a high-growth area, and the vehicle market is very strong."

GM last month began a \$100

December 31, 1991.

Registered Office; Luxembourg - 2, Boulevard Royal

Notice to Shareholders

PAYMENT OF DIVIDENDS

The annual general meeting of shareholders held on June 3, 1992 resolved to pay a dividend of U.S.\$ 2.10 per preferred

share and U.S.\$ 1.80 per ordinary share for the year ended

Since an Interim dividend of U.S.\$ 0.80 per preferred share

and U.S.\$ 0.70 per ordinary share was paid on December 12,

1991, a final amount of U.S.\$ 1.30 per preferred share and of

Such final dividend will be payable, subject to the laws and regulations applicable in each country, starting June 19, 1992,

against surrender of coupon no. 8 of the preferred share certi-

ficates and coupon no. 29 of the ordinary share certificates at

in Luxembourg: Banque Internationale à Luxembourg;

- in the Federal Republic of Germany: Commerzbank; - in Great Britain: S.G. Warburg & Co. and Lazard Brothers

in the Netherlands: Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank;

- in Belgium: Banque Bruxelles Lambert.

- in Switzerland: Credit Suisse, Banca Commerciale Italiana;

The Principal Paying Agent

Banque Internationale à Luxembourg

Société Anonyme

U.S.\$ 1.10 per ordinary share has to be paid.

the offices of the paying agents listed below:

- in Italy: all the leading banks;

- in France: Lazard Frères & Cie.;



cles. The joint venture will produce 30,000 trucks this year.

The Chinese proportion of the labor and parts will gradually in-crease, and by 1998 the factory is scheduled to produce 50,000 vehicles yearly.

Foreign investors are not as starry eyed as they were a decade ago. Companies now expect maddening bureaucrarie delays.

There are also grave doubts million joint venture in northeast about what may happen in China China with Gold Cup Automotive after the death of Deng Xiaoping, Co., manufacturing and assembling pickup trucks and other vehi-

nese government than about the American Congress.

"The question is always asked: What is the political risk?" said Maureen Flanagan, director of international trade policy at Digital Equipment Corp., which in the last

That political risk is not within

China, but in Washington. The danger is that most-favored-nation trade status will not be renewed.

Perhaps as a result, the U.S. share of foreign investment and tourist arrivals in China bas dropped significantly while interest from other Asian and European nations has grown.

Foreign companies find China attractive for two reasons:

 An enormous supply of literate and healthy laborers who are willing to work for \$50 a month or less. • The Chinese market, with its

population of 1.1 billion, huge private savings, rising incomes and a strong preference for foreign Procter & Gamble Co. is enjoy-

ing enormous success selling shampoo in southern China. Late last year it began a joint venture that could eventually produce up to 150 million samitary napkins annually.

McDonald's Corp. recently opened three restaurants - each setting a company record for the highest opening-day sales. The company plans to spend \$50 mil-lion in the next few years on more

few years has opened a factory and a software development center in set up nearly 100 centers where anthorized companies can trade : their local money for dollars at a . free-market rate, so it is now possible to take profits out of the coun-

"China is turning into the kind; of market we always cautioned. people not to expect for many years," said Jerome A. Cohen, a New York lawyer who has worked . in China trade for more than three decades. The hotel industry is one of the.

few bleak spots. Most cities face a surplus of rooms, but even botel executives take comfort in the rising numbers of tourists. More than 12 million overseas tourists visited China in the first four months of 1992, a 12 percent.

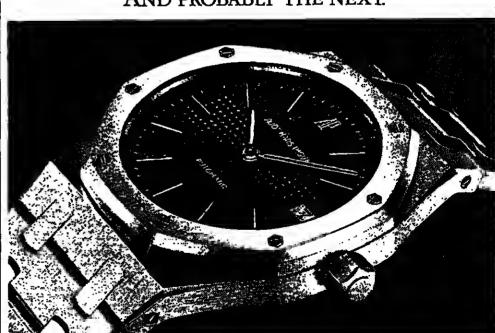
increase over last year. Americans used to rank third intowist numbers, after Hong Kong and Japan. Now they are fifth, be-

hind France and Germany. Hong Kong has always been the largest foreign investor in China, accounting for about 58 percent of new investment, but until 1990 the t United States ranked second, with

about 10 percent.
Last year the United States:
dropped to lifth, with less than 5
percent, behind Hong Kong, Ger-

many, Taiwan and Japan.

ONE OF THE GREAT DESIGNS OF THIS CENTURY AND PROBABLY THE NEXT.



unto central rotor in 21-carat gold, water-resistant to 5 at

The Royal Oak is instantly recognized by its unique octagonal shape.

A classic design, totally original in concept, with that extraordinary perfection of finish which is the hailmark of the master watchmakers, Audemars



Decisive, individual, ageless. One of a kind, like the person who wears it. Like the champion golfer, Nick Faldo. He unhesitatingly chose the Royal Oak as his watch. One leader, it seems, will immediately recognize an-



MARKET DIARY

Report Depresses **Tobacco Stocks**

NEW YORK — Tobacco compa-ny stocks were pressured Monday by a published report of a criminal investigation into the industry, while most Wall Street issues were mixed. The Dow Jones industrial aver-

N.Y. Stocks

exchange from 181.83 million shares on Friday.

Trude Latimer, chief market hit because of a report in the Wall about the risks of smoking through a research organization funded by

U.S. Attorney Andrew Maloney also would not comment.

component and the third-most-active issue, lost 1% to 72%. Loews fell 1% to 114%, American Brands slid % to 47, and RJR Nabisco Holdings eased 4 to 9%.

U.S. government securities were age edged up 0.54 point, 10 all the changed, with the 30-year bond abead 1/32, to 101 20/32 in late trading, for a yield of 7.85 percent, down from 7.86 percent Friday. Telefonos de Mexico paced the

New York Stock Exchange led advancers, bowever, by a 7-6 ratio.

Volume fell to about 159.06 million shares on the New York Stock is after the New York Stock is a New York Stock in the New York Stock is a New York Stock in the New York Stock in the New York Stock is a New York Stock in the New York Stock in week on continued concern about the possible sale of Telmex shares owned by unionized workers.

Monsanto was second, tumbling strategist at Wayne Grayson Capital Corp. said tobacco issues were ond-quarter earnings could fall as much as 30 percent below the low tors were conducting a criminal inshare because of high promotional bacco companies misled the public costs and inventory adjustments in

IBM rose 1 to 94. Investors apparently believed the computer the industry.

Leonard Zahn, a spokesman for the Council on Tobacco Research, parently benever the completer maker would be able to weather a round of fierce price battles in the personal computer marketplace set refused to comment on the report off by Compaq Computer's product lis group. A spokesman said (UPI, Bloomberg, AFX, Reuters, AP)

MARKETS: Securities Battered

highest this year, up from 8.76 per-

cent on Friday.

The rising interest rates oo bonds spilled over onto the Paris Bourse, where the CAC 40-stock index fell 10.15 points, or 0.53 per-

Foreign Exchange

cent, to 1,918.14. The index has fallen 5.3 percent since Danish voters rejected the Maastricht accord. in the German bond market, the beliwether 8 percent Germany Unity Fund bond due 2002 fell a quarter point, raising its yield to 7.96 per-cent from 7.92 percent on Friday. The DAX stock index fell 8.37

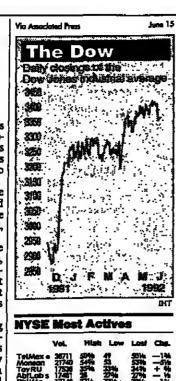
points, to 1,773.90. In London, the Financial Times-Stock Exchange index of 100 leading shares fell 10.1 points, to 2,593.6. Bond prices also fell, with supply

(Continued from first finance page) concerns joining the Maastricht treaty worries. The bellwether 9 percent gilt due 2008 yielded 9.06 per-

cent, up from 9.01 percent Friday. In London currency trading, the yen fell, even against the dollar. A weak economic survey released by the Bank of Japan on Friday and a large fall in the stock market on Monday reinforced expectations of an interest-rate cut. The mark rose to 80.725 yen from 80.260, while the dollar rose to 126.70 year from 126.68.

The dollar fell to 1,5690 DM from 1.5755 and to 5.2900 French francs from 5.3095.

Later in New York, the dollar dropped to 1.5708 DM, from 1.5770 on Friday, but edged up to 126.83 yen, from 126.70. It also fell to 1.4150 Swiss francs from 1.4270. and 5.2905 French francs from 5.3095. The pound rose to \$1.8568 from \$1.8515. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

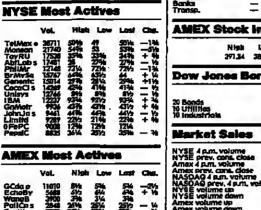


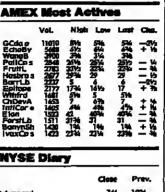
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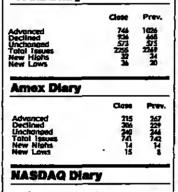
NASDAQ Indexes

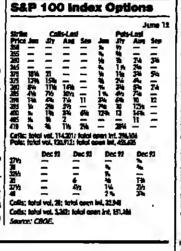
AMEX Stock Index

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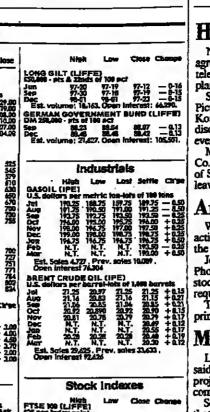




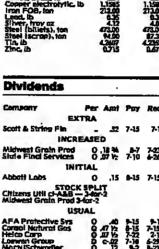


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U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

HBO Buys TV Rights to Savoy Films

NEW YORK (AP) — The Home Box Office unit of Time Warner Inc.

agreed Monday to buy the domestic and Canadian home video and paytelevision rights to most of the films Savoy Pictures Entertainment Inc.

plans to distribute

Savoy Pictures was founded earlier this year by two former Columbia plans to distribute. Pictures Entertainment Inc. executives, Victor Kaufman and Lewis J. Korman, with \$100 million in backing. Terms of the deal were not disclosed, but Savoy said it believed it was the biggest production deal of the believed in the believed in the biggest production deal of the believed in the believed in the biggest production deal of the biggest production deal of the believed in the biggest production deal of the

ever in the home video business. Meanwhile, Time Warner's alliance with Toshiba Corp. and C. Itoh & Co. will go ahead, the analysts said, despite the announced medical leave of Steven Ross. Time said Sunday that Mr. Ross was taking a temporary leave of absence to resume treatment for prostrate cancer

Arizona Thrift Case Asks \$1.5 Billion

WASHINGTON (WP) — The U.S. government has filed a civil fraud action seeking more than \$1.5 billion from executives and borrowers of the now-defunct Western Savings & Loan Association of Phoenix.

John Driggs, who was Western's chairman, is a former mayor of Phoenix. The Driggs family and other insiders cashed out \$10.4 million in stock options in 1986 and 1987 when Western barely met capital requirements, the government contends.

requirements, the government contends.

The suit against Western exceeds in size the \$1.1 billion sought against principals of Charles Keating's Lincoln Savings.

McDonnell Douglas Delays MD-12

LONG BEACH, California (Reuters) — McDonnell Douglas Corp. said it does not expect to begin its MD-12 jumbo-jet program in 1992 as projected because the industry slump is preventing major customers from

Separately, a spokesman for McDonnell's Douglas Aircraft Corp. said that between 1,000 and 3,000 layoffs are expected next month.

Monsanto Downgraded by Analysts

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Analysts at PaineWebber Inc. and County NatWest said they lowered their earnings estimates and ratings on Monsanto Co. after it was announced that second-quarter profits may be 20 percent to 30 percent under estimates.

In active trading on the New York Stock Exchange, Monsanto fell. \$5.125, to \$53.875.

Monsanto said it had settled claims with more than 1,700 plaintiffs over the Brio Superfund site in Texas that will result in a second-quarter after-tax charge of about 527 million. "The extent of this announcement blind-sided people." said the director of equities at Teacher Retirement System of Texas, which owns about 2.5 million Monsanto shares.

\$33.8 Million Paid for Stake in Mitel

TORONTO (Bloomberg) — Schroders & Partners Ltd. said it paid British Telecommunication PLC about 40.3 million Canadian dollars (\$33.8 million) for BT's 51 percent stake in Mitel Corp.

Schroders is the Canadian affiliate of Schroder Ventures, which is acting as an adviser to a grant of the state of Schroder Ventures. acting as an adviser to a group of partnerships in Canada, Bermuda and the United Kingdom.

High Court Limits State Business Tax WASHINGTON (Bloomberg) - The Supreme Court Monday ruled . by a 5-to-4 vote that states cannot tax billions in revenue that multistate

corporations derive from investments in subsidiaries that are not involved in their core business activities. The case involved New Jersey's attempt to tax the \$212 million made by Michigan-based Bendix Corp. when it sold its 20 percent stake in Asarco Inc. of New York in 1981.

For the Record

H.J. Heinz Co. said Monday that fourth-quarter earnings were \$145.7 million, down 7 percent from last year.

JAKARTA: Liquidity Remains a Barrier for More Foreign Investment

(Continued from first finance page) undermined by the recent boomand-bust cycle, some wildly inflated profit projections and chaotic

share-dealing procedures. The government-appointed Capital Market Supervisory Board Indonesian market had greatly imwithdrew from the running of the proved. exchange in April to become a full-Securities and Exchange Commission in the United States.

A newly privatized exchange, PT Bursa Efek Jakarta, was left to apply cootrols on listing, share trading and membership approved by the Finance Ministry.

Foreign brokers and fund managers agreed the operation of the

But Peter Arkell, head of rethere was still uncertainty over whether the Bursa would rigorous-

ly apply the tougher regulations to nies may be unable to fulfill the all 143 listed companies by Thurs- new requirements and face delistday, as originally intended.

Some firm decisions need to be made or the exchange "will lose have protested. Small concerns valuable credibility with investors," he said.

The requirements include minimum total assets of 20 billion rupiahs (\$9.9 million), paid-up capital of at least 2 hillion rupiahs and a

Many Indonesian companies complain of discrimination, while larger businesses object to proposed rules that would oblige them to list all their issued shares.

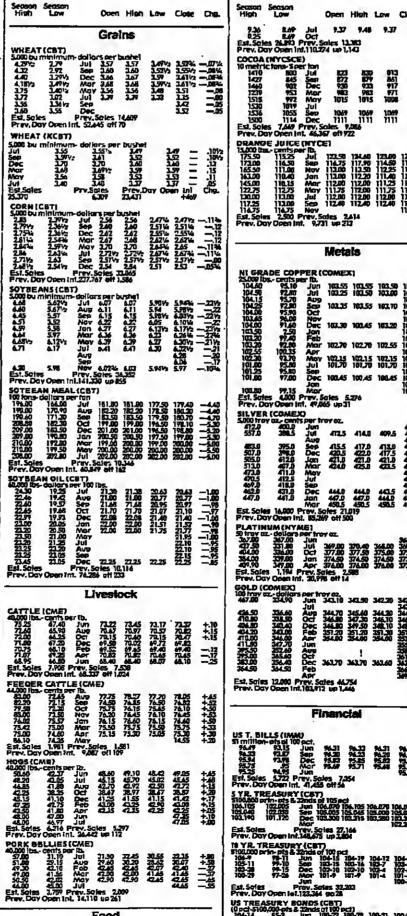
To help pay for a more efficient of at least 2 billion rupiahs and a exchange, the Bursa proposes to minimum of 200 shareholders.

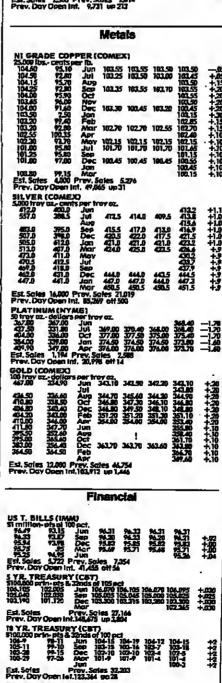
Analysts said about 40 compa
0.1 percent of their listed capital.

U.S. FUTURES

Financial

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WORLD STOCK MARKETS

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The latest i section is a number on t July 10, or t will be mail

Hoechst is one of the leas in 1991 Hoechst Group a Group sales were achie-reached DM 2.552 million



Page 13 EUROPE

BET Reports Massive Loss After Writeoffs

LONDON - BET PLC on Monday reported a net loss of £483.1 million (\$894 million) for its latest year because of a huge wri-Licoff of goodwill on its 1980s acquisition spree and a large provision for restructuring operations.

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Italy Back

ket Reforms

The results were far below the already-dismal predictions of stock market analysts, and helped knock BET's shares 5 pence lower to 133 nence on the London Stock Ex-

change.
BET, a business-services company that specializes in office cleaning, said pretax profit in the year ended March 31 plunged 91.5 per-cent to £18.5 million, down from £217 million the previous year and below analysts estimates of £108 million to £115 million.

The company also took an extraordinary charge of £476.1 million, reflecting accelerated depreciation of goodwill in connection

EFA Battle Kicks Off Air Show

BERLIN — The dispute over Germany's participation in the European Fighter Air-craft project overshadowed the opening Monday of the Berlin Air Show, the first international aerospace exhibition in the German capital since 1928.

Manfred Stople, premier of the state of Brandenburg, refused to take part in the opening of the six-day event because the show featured a wooden model of the EFA. Brandenburg surrounds Berlin and is co-hosting the air show with it. Mr. Stolpe is a member of

the opposition Social Democratic Party, which has opposed the development of the lighter by Germany, Britain, Italy and Spain.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's coalition, under pressure to save money to finance the build-up of Eastern Germany, is widely expected to decide later this month to quit the EFA. Finance Minister Theo Wai-

gel, an advocate of the EFA; urged politicians in Bonn to make a soher assessment of total costs in deciding whether or not to stay in the project to build a 21st-century fighter.

Industrialists and politicians from the south of the country, where most German aerospace concerns are based, have been

lobbying to stay in the project. Separately, Fokker NV and Deutsche Aerospace, a unit of Daimler-Benz AG, failed to an-nounce details of their planned cooperation. (AFP, Reuters)

to new accounting rules.

Pretax profit was reduced by a

£90 million provision to cover

losses on the sales of underper-

forming units, which account for about 10 percent of its business.

Clark, said he saw bittle evidence of

improvement in the British econo-

my and only "patchy" signs of re-

covery in the company's markets. He also said the depressed eco-

nomie elimate had delayed the company's asset-disposal program.

During the year BET sold 10 small businesses, in addition to last

May's £212 million sale of Biffa, a

waste-management concern. These

made up less than 10 percent of planned disposals, Mr. Clark said. One bright spot in BET's report

was that its leverage, the ratin of deht to capital, was 25 percent, less

than had been forecast. Net debt of

£107.1 million was below the £160

million that analysts predicted and

down from £425 millinn a year ago.

With the market already expect-ing a sharp drop in profit, analysis

said investors would focus on

BET's debt and dividend. News

about the latter was negative, with

the dividend for the year cut to 6.5

pence a share, below forecasts and

down from 13.25 pence last year.

progress over the past year in ad-

dressing the issues affecting BET's

financial and operational performance," said Mr. Clark. "There is

much more to dn as we move into

the next phase of our development

BET has organized itself into five

core units - textiles, cleaning, se-

curity, distribution and plant ser-

vices — and provided £54.9 million

for restructuring. Asset writedowns

accounted for most of the remain-

spite tough market conditions.

Luithansa Talks

With Lauda Air

AFP-Extel News

to take a 25 percent stake in Landa

tween the two companies, air in-dustry sources said Monday.

The two companies confirmed

talks were under way to step up

cooperation but refused to com-

The sources said Lufthansa's

board was expected to approve the

acquisition in early July. Lauda Air of Austria was founded by the for-

mer racing driver, Nikki Lauda.

ment further.

BET's sales fell 11.4 percent last

year to £2.34 billion from £2.64

(Reuters, Bloomberg, AFX, AFP)

ing exceptional charges,

into a growth operating company.

We have made considerable

BET's chief executive, John

BIS Advises G-7 to Lead Way on Trade By Carl Gewirtz

BASEL Switzerland - Three weeks before the Munich summit meeting of the Group of Seven, the major industrial nations were admonished on Monday to forego tinkering with policy in an effort to boost economic growth and focus instead on liberalizing trade.

The Bank for International Settlements said in its annual report that the "greatest single contribution" the industrial countries could make "for the well-being of the world economy at large" would be to give developing countries and the former Communist nations of Eastern Europe free access to markets.

Warning that the fiscal situation was "in danger of getting out of hand in almost all" of the former Communist countries, the bank said substantial quantities of outside financial assis-tance may be needed "just to provide the glim-mer nf hope needed to sustain the political

However, citing Germany's experiences with reunification, the bank caudoned that "outside help, no matter how abundant, offers no panacea for rapidly overcoming the legacies of so-

The assistance that can contribute most to the transition process and to stimulating growth, it said, would be "the offer of unimped-ed access to Western markets."

Economic recovery in the industrialized countries also would help, the hank said. Althrough the pace and shape of the recovery remains uncertain, the report said that the United States was "moving out" of recession and that other countries would follow.

Pessimism about the imminence of a world-

wide slump or financial crisis is unwarranted." said Alexandre Lamfalussy, general manager of the Bank for International Settlements, which is known as the central bankers' central bank. He dismissed as "rather farfetched" attempts to draw parallels between today's overindebtedness and asset price deflation, which are seen as retarding recovery, and the depression of the 1930s, which was driven in part by the

The report, a comprehensive financial and economic analysis of the past year and emerging trends, acknowledged that the current wave of real estate price deflation in many countries "might be considered a new phenomenon in the postwar economic history of industrial countries." If not contained, it said, this could harm

banks and possibly dent the prospects for full "It is difficult to assess the potential danger of a vicious circle of declines feeding on de-

The main theme of the report is that industrial nations risk playing with fire because an overly lax monetary policy could reignite inflation.

elines," the report said. "But it should be remembered that the industrial economies have not ceased to be more inflation-than deflationprone, and that earlier fears of deflationary

spirals invariably proved to be unfounded."

This is the main theme of the 235-page reort: that industrial nations risk playing with fire with an overly lax monetary policy because

that could reignite inflation. "Some central banks now consider that, in the context of sharp declines in current inflation rates, pobcy can safely be geared more to promoting recovery in output and employ-

The assumption is that policy could be tight-ened quickly when recovery took hold. But the report said that "past experience has ont been encouraging in this respect."

It rejected the notion that the excesses of the decade-long boom that ended in 1990 were the result of deregulation in financial markets and said that "relatively lax monetary policy accompanying deregulation permitted the overex-tension of both lenders and borrowers."

ft observed that Germany's tight monetary policy had spared Europe from the worst of the

Both Mr. Lamfalussy and Bengt Dennis, head of the Swedish central bank, who chaired Mooday's meeting, emphasized the need for strengthened regulation and supervision.

But they also called on officials to "limit" intervention in order to allow overextended banks to fail and so instill more caution in those that remain in business.

As for current concerns that easier policy is needed to offset a credit crunch from banks unable and unwilling to lend, the report said that the credit slowdown in most countries appeared to stem more from a decline in the demand for borrowing than from an inordinate reluctance of banks to grant oew credits.

The "more dominant" factor, it said, "has been high private-sector debt levels."

Mnnetary policy is most effective "when used restrictively," Mr. Lamfalussy said. He added that it was an "open question" on bow effective it was likely to be as a means of stimulating activity. Using Germany and Switzerland as examples, he noted that "even restrictive policies can encounter formidable difficulties.

Turning to trade policy, he warned that it would be "tragic" if the shift tow under way in the former Communist bloc and other developing countries were to be impeded by the erec-tinn of additional trade barriers in the industri-

The BIS report came as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade continues to try to complete the current Uruguay Round of talks on liberalizing world trade in key sectors.

Goods that many of the developing countries can readily export - agricultural products, textiles and einthing — are among those most protected by industrial countries," Mr. Lamfalussy said.

Free trade is important, he said, because it "goes a long way toward ensuring the equal treatment of small nations in the international

Investor's Europe Frankfurt London **CAC 40** DAX FTSE 100 Index Exchange . Prev... iodex Change Close Close: **CBS** Trend -0.85 128.40 129.50 +0.06 Brussels Stock Index 5,899,17 5,895.56 Frankfürt DAX -0.471,773.90 1,782.27 Frankfurt FAZ 708.23 710.20 -0.28 Helsinki HEX 791.35 781.64 London Financial Times 30 2,026.40 2,025,30 +0.06 2,603.70 Madrid 247.80 -0.24 MIB 934.00 937.00 -0.32 CAC 40 1,918.14 1,928.29 -0.53 Stockholm Affersvenden 1,074.13 +0.72 1.081.87 Vienna Stock Index 446.68 447.72 -0.23SBS -0.80 659,40

Very briefly:

 3i Group PLC has postponed its stock market flotation until 1993 at the earliest because of the recession, said Sir Jnhn Cuckney, chairman of the British venture capital group.

 Flughaven Wien AG, the privatized Vienna airport, was first traded no the Vienna stock exchange at a 13 percent premium in the flotation price. • Essilor International SA could post a 1992 net profit of 200 million French francs (\$37.7 million). Chairman Gerard Cottet told the annual meeting; in 1991 Essilor reported a net profit excluding exceptionals of 177 million francs.

· Avenir Havas Media's chairman, Andre Chadeau, would be replaced by Paul Dini, founder and chairman of Havas subsidiary Comareg, under a proposal by Havas Chairman Pierre Dauzier, Avenir Havas Media has revised its profit forecast for 1992 to between 85 million French frances and 115 million from the 115 million it forecast in February

 Neste Oy's chemicals unit said it acquired a majnrity stake in the ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd. unit ABB Polymer Compounds, which would be renamed Neste Polymer Compounds AB.

• France's consumer prices rose 0.3 percent in May from April, for a yearto-year rise of 3.1 percent, the statistical institute INSEE said.

 Germany will maintain pressure in win the seat of the future European Community monetary authority for Frankfurt, a government spokesman

• BCCI creditors in Britain said they would appeal a High Court ruling approving \$1.5 hillion in compensation from Abu Dhahi: creditors in Luxembourg also voted against the package, a source said. (Reuters, AFX, AFP)

EUROPE: Central Bankers Add New Criticism to Economic Union Plan

(Continued from page 1) to continue," Mr. Schlesinger was quoted as saying by Agence

Mr. Lamfalussy defended the assessment of the BIS report, saying was "not a criticism" of the Maastricht treaty, bot rather a questioning of the "political consensus" occded to fulful its goals.

During the year, plant and equipment rental was hardest hit, with operating profits halved, to He dismissed suggestions that £32.8 million, because of the weak the report's oegative assessment construction sector. Security and would have any impact on the foreign exchange market. distribution remained in profit de-

"I don't see why the donbts should be a blow to exchange rate stability," he said, since the EC's fixed exchange-rate mechanism "was functioning well before the Maastricht treaty was signed."

On foreign exchange markets Monday, the Swiss franc and the Deutsche mark were the stars as other EC currencies continued to feel the weight of Maastrichtlinked uncertainty.

By focusing on the problems VIENNA -- Condor, a unit of leading up to and after monetary Deutsche Lufthansa AG, is seeking union, the BIS appears to be underpurely economic matters in arrivcentral bankers participated in drafting the document, only the

deflationary bias likely to prevail throughout the Community as

Foreign Investment in EC Slides

AFP-Extel News

BASEL, Switzerland — The Bank for International Settlements said Monday that direct foreign investment inflows to the European Community fell to \$67.7 billion in 1991 from \$85.8 billion in 1990. Despite the drop, the bank said in its annual report that the Community had held up "relatively well" gives the economic slow-down. Britain remained the most popular investment destination of all EC countries last year, still, inflows to Britain fell by \$12 billion. Direct foreign investment in Germany amounted to only \$3 billion in 1991, which the report said suggested that foreign enter-

prises were not playing a major part in the reconstruction of Eastern Germany. Hungary attracted the most foreign direct investment in Eastern Europe, at \$1.5 billion. Meanwhile, the BIS general manager, Alexandre Lamfalussy, said that "major moves" were under way to improve the flow of information regarding the international derivatives market, which includes

such items as futures, options and interest-rate and currency swaps He said at a press conference that the "information gap" dividing regulators, supervisors and market participants must be closed. He also said that the sharp growth in the derivatives market was causing "concern, but not excessive concern."

members strive to fulfill the criteria "lo many countries explain lining the extent to which political for full entry into the monetary monetary policy decisions in terms Air and to increase cooperation be considerations - paving the road union. At present, only three counto political union - prevailed over tries - France, Luxembourg and Denmark — meet the standards, ing at the Maastricht treaty. While and Denmark's participation is now in doubt.

Looking farther down the road heads of government and finance ministers attended the Maastricht conference last December.

A main concern of the BIS is the anti-inflation commitment evident in the run-up to such a union can

of external constraints has been helpful in securing public accep-tance," it said. "In the absence of such standards of reference, mone tary policy decisions may be difficult to agree upon and defend, particularly as levels of structural

onemployment will continue to differ from country to country." As a result, the report warns, "the objective of price stability is inherently vulnerable to any faltering if the political consensus in support of it."

The BIS coted that "only limited

attention was paid in the negotiatinn of the treaty to the dependence of monetary policy no exchange rate policy, which has increased in recent years bot which is oot fully reflected in the statutes of even the most independent central banks."
It added; "Views about the desirability of stabilizing the exchange

rates of the major world currencies differ. The establishment of a European monetary union could actually tend in strengthen pressures for stabilizing the exchange rates of the union against non-EMS currencies even in the absence of price stability outside the EC." The report also questioned

whether linking the criteria for joining the EMU to a rigid timetable "suggests some risk that political considerations could play a role in the application of the stan-

It also expressed concern that exchange rate and, perhaps, budgetary policy in some countries 100 rigid in the oext few years."

As for the ultimate locking of exchange rates, the report said that monetary union might be seen as limiting exchange rate misalign-ments and interest rate distur-bances by forcing policy conver-gence eveo in the fiscal sphere and preventing beggar-thy-neighbor exchange rate policies.

Continental Seeks Return Of Dividend Paid to Pirelli Compiled by Our Staff From Dispanches

BONN - Continental AG has accused Pirelli SpA and ailted shareholders of violating German corporate law and demanded the return of 8.91 million Deutsche marks (\$5.7 million) in dividend payments, a company spokesman said Monday. Pirelli was required by law to inform Continental that it controlled

about 25 percent of Continental's nominal capital before the share-holder's meeting on July 10, 1991, the spokesman said. Because Pirelli did oot do so, he added, the law prevents the company from "exercising the rights, either to a dividend or voting rights, of those shares."

After informing Pirelli last week, Continental officially wrote to it oo Monday demanding the return of the dividend payment. Pirelli

responded that it would not do so. The spokesman said Continental based its claim on German shareholder law and on a court decision May 29 that determined that Pirelli controls at least 25.4 percent of Continental's capital. He said Continental would sue if Pirelii declined to return the dividend.

On May 29. a Hannover court overturned a decision taken at a Continental shareholders meeting in March 1991 that abolished a 5

percent limit nn voting rights for outside shareholders. (AFX, Reuters)

FREE INFORMATION

FROM INTERNATIONAL INVESTOR XXIV

Herald Tribune.

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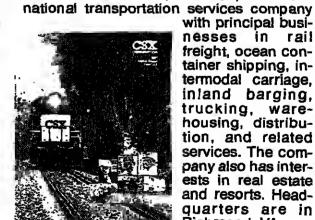


The ASEA Brown Boveri Group is a global, \$ 29 billion company serving electric power



generation, transmission, and distribution customers as well as industrial, environmental control, and rail transportation mar-

kets. More than half of ABB's sales are in Europe, about one-fifth in North America, and the remainder in Asia, Australia, and developing countries.



CSX Corporation CSX Corporation, with assets of \$13 billion

and 1991 revenue of \$8.6 billion, is an inter-



nesses in rail freight, ocean container shipping, intermodal carriage, inland barging, trucking, ware-housing, distribution, and related services. The company also has interests in real estate and resorts. Headquarters are in Richmond, VA.

with principal busi-

Hoechst 🕖

Hoechst is one of the leading chemical companies in the world. Hoechst is one of the leading chemical companies in the world.

In 1991 Hoechst Group sales rose by 5 % to DM 47.2 billion, 75 % of in 1991 Hoechst Group sales were achieved abroad. Profit before taxes on income Group sales were achieved abroad. Profit before taxes on income group sales were achieved abroad. Profit before taxes on income group sales were investments in participating interests totalling DM 372 million. Eucost totalling DM 372 million. Eucost actually across 70 %

rope accounted for some 70 % of the capital expenditure and North America for a further 20 %. At DM 4.8 billion cash flow was markedly higher than capital expenditure on tangible

With research costs of DM 2.9 billion Hoechst is one of the world's research intensive companies. About half this sum went into the development of new pharmaceutical products. 15,400 employees work in re-search facilities in 15 countries. Hoechst has around 180,000 employees worldwide.

ING GROEP

International Nederlanden Group employs nearly 50,000 people and provides financial services through its own establishments in 42 countries. Its total assets are close to NLG 300 billion.



Building on its position

in the Dutch market and its financial strengh, the Group aims at securing a prominent position in the European financial services market and a strong position in other parts of the world. ING shares are listed on the Amsterdam, Antwerp, Basel, Brussels, Geneva, Paris and Zunch stock ex-

SKF is the world leader in rolling bearings, with a world market share of approximately 20 per-cent. The Group also manufactures machine tools, fastening systems, sealing systems, aerospace equipment, textile machinery components, cutting tools, and other high precision engineered prod-

ucts, as well as special steets. Group sales for 1991

amounted to SEK 26,302 million and the result after financial income and expense was SEK -221 million. Rolling bearings and rolling bearing related products are SKF's core business and accounted for more than 90 percent of total sales in 1991.

Mail this coupon or send telex to: Ann Doyle/International Investor XXIV

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Monday's Prices

NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time.
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

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Bombay Broker Boycott Trading

Page 15 ASIA / PACIFIC

Coke's New Venture Points to Vietnam

A Lift for Singapore's Fraser to Vietnam, once the United States lifts its economic embargo, and its neighbors. The plant in Tuas,

SINGAPORE — A joint venture Between Coca-Cola Co. and Singaporc's Fraser & Neave Ltd. gives Toke a head start in the soft drink ess in Indochina and should ean higher profits for F&N, ana-Mysts said Monday.

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"It makes money sense for them to utilize the venture to penetrate the regional market," said Low Siew Kheng, research director at Baring Securities, referring to

The venture means the U.S. company does not have to inject fresh each into Southeast Asia to build up exports to Indochina, she said. That's important for Coke now because the company said two weeks ago it would invest nearly \$1 billion in Eastern and Central Europe from 1992 to 1995.

Coca-Cola, the world's largest soft-drink company, agreed last month to pay 39.6 million Singa-pore dollars (\$24.4 million) to acquire a 25 percent stake in F&N's wholly owned subsidiary, F&N Beverage Pvt., and rename it as P&N Coca-Cola Pvt.

The venture took over a modern F&N plant and will enable Coca-Cola to begin shipping its products Foster's Strikes **Brewing Deal** With Power Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRISBANE, Australia — Foster's Brewing Group Ltd. extended its control of the Australian beer industry on Monday by taking a half share in upstart Power Brewing Co. southwest Singapore, has been run-ning at around half its capacity of

Foster's also said it had rejected a merger proposal from S.A. Brewing Holdings Ltd, It said the nonbeer businesses of S.A. Brewing were incompatible with its strategy of focusing exclusively on beer.

S.A. Brewing, which has interests in beverages and manu-

facturing, proposed in May a share swap with Foster's to create a company with assets of about 10.6 billion Austrahan dollars (\$8.1 billion). Under the deal with Power. Foster's Carlton & United Breweries unit is forming a

joint venture with Power to ac-

quire Power's brewery and its beer brands for 90 million dol-

(AFP, Reuters)

high interest costs stemming from investment and diversification into its diversification into property.

"Beyond 1994, it would look exciting but for 1992 and 1993 I don't expect anything great," said Sunil Gupta, investment analyst at Crosand the company still has to bear by Securities.

Poor Outlook Rattles Tokyo

Stocks Sink as Fears of Lower Profits Grow

Compiled by Our Staff From Disputches

TOKYO - The sharp fall in stocks on Monday to their lowest level in nearly two months - stems from a growing fear that corporate profits in the

coming year will be poor.

The flight from blue chips followed a quarterly Bank of Japan economic survey showing that busin confidence has dropped to a five-year low.

The benchmark Nikkei 225 average fell 430.45 points, or 2.48 percent, to close at 16,953.23, its lowest closing level since 16,839.12, on April 22.

The broader Topix index of all issues on the Tokyo Stock Exchange's first section declined 22.89 points, or 1.72 percent, to 1,305,47. There was still no indication that the Bank of Japan

would soon lower interest rates to stimulate the economy, which is mired in a slump.

A Bank of Japan official said that despite the gloomy mood, a change in the bank's monetary policy to boost the economy was not warranted at this time.

Because the business confidence figures released late last week were so low, speculation has grown that many leading businesses will reduce their earnings forecasts in coming months, weakening stocks. "This result suggests lower profits," said Brad Bauer, a trader at Prudential Securities. "Right now,

the main concern is the outlook on corporate profits." "It is inevitable that corporate profits will be weaker than companies' forecast," said Peter Rawle, Japan regional strategist at Smith New Court Far East. Mr. Rawle forecast that current profit will decline by 12 percent on average for the year ending March

1993, compared with average company forecasts for a decline of 0.5 percent. In the year ended March 1992, current profit actually fell by an average of 16 percent. Mr. Rawle's outlook is in line with those of most Japanese researchers. Sanyo Economic Research Institute forecasts a drop of 13.6 percent in current

profit, based on 654 companies, excluding financial

companies and utilities. Despite Monday's drop, few analysts said they expected the Nikkei to crumble. Most believe it will find support around the low for this year, the close of 16,598.15 on April 9, which was 57 percent below its peak in December 1989.

Negative psychology, the drop in share prices and real estate values is making things seem worse than they are," said Waldie Thiessen, head of research at Credit Lyonnais Securities, concluding that the market is fairly valued between 16,500 and 17,000.

But Mr. Rawle saw further weakness. "I wouldn't be surprised if the market goes down another one to two thousand points," he said. "I think 15,000 is a possibili-

The ratio of stock prices to book value is now around 2.0, Mr. Rawle said. Another 10 percent fall in stock prices would bring the ratio near the low of 1.7 reached just after the first oil shock in 1974.
Still, Mr. Rawle said he did not think the Japanese

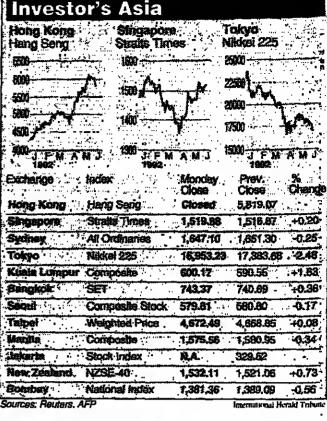
and noted that the market's price to book ratio has not been below 2.0 since 1974. A strategist with Lehman Brothers, Michael Morizumi, said the market faced "further consolidation" because of the disappointing business confidence re-port. He also said he believed that there was "no

economic situation was as bad today as it was in 1974,

prospect of stimulative action in the near future. in a related development, a report showed that debt arising from corporate bankruptcies in May totaled 633.18 billion yen (\$5 billion), up 33 percent from the

same month a year earlier. But the data from the Tokyo Commerce & Industry Research Co. showed that corporate bankruptcy debt was down 35.2 percent from April.

(Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP)



Bank of Tokyo to Bail Out Broker

TOKYO — Bank of Tokyo Ltd. bas agreed to provide management and capital support to Dainana Securities Co., which has been hard-hit by the protracted stock market slump, the small brokerage said Monday.

Dainana, capitalized at 2 billion yen (\$15.8 million), posted a current loss of 2.31 billion yen for the year ended March 31. It said it plans to increase its capital through allocation of new stock to a third party with

the support of Bank of Tokyo, a major shareholder of Dainana.

Dainana said it would appoint Yoshiaki Ara, a former BOT official who is managing director of Sanyo Securities Co., as president. Dainana said it wanted BOT to send staff to the brokerage and accept new shares. "It seems to me that the BOT reluctantly agreed to provide support to Dainana at a time when the securities industry is in a serious depression, one banking industry source said.

Bombay Brokers Boycott Trading

BOMBAY -- Brokers here said they boycotted trading on Monday because several companies refused to transfer shares sold by Harshad Mehta, the central figure in India's biggest financial scandal, whose assets have been frozen.

Saying "we're on strike, we can't do business," a Bombay Stock Exchange director, Kirtikumar Parassue orders clearing the transfer of the shares to the names of buyers." He said the shares had been sold by Mr. Mehta and his allies before May 14. Mr. Mehta's offices were raided by the Central Bureau of investigation the next day. Although his holdings were frozen,

The CBI has arrested Mr. Mehta and 10 others, five of them bankers, over the \$1 billion scandal and charged them with criminal conspiracy and fraud.

the CBI agreed to release shares, or

cash, for transactions done before

Pfizer's Go-It-Alone Gamble in Japan Finally Pays Off

30 million cases a year since its opening in 1990, as expected con-

tracts from Japan never material-

Officials at the joint venture

which includes nearby Brunei m its

operations, said Coca-Cola also

would acquire an interest in F&N's

Malaysian soft drinks business

Coca-Cola also has agreed to al-

ses or investment opportunities

F&N, the leading supplier of soft

low the venture to have more fran-

in other countries in the region.

drinks, dairy products and beer for Singapore and Malaysia, has been the franchised bottler for Con-

Cols in these markets since 1936.

But in recent years its profitability

has fallen because of heavy capital

F&N's near-term profit growth is expected to remain slow because the

Singapore soft-drink market is small

the property business.

once Malaysia finalizes its new eco-

ized, analysts said.

TOKYO - When Pfizer Inc., the U.S. drug company, arrived to set up shop in Japan in the early 1950s, its most urgent need was for a Japanese partner to guide it through the country's labyrinthine distri-

Thirty years down the road, Pfizer was ready to go it alone. The company bought out its Japanese partner, Taito, in 1983 to take sole control of management and prof-

For Pfizer and many other foreign companies, the successful path into the world's second-largest consumer market has been through capable Japanese partners. But Pfizer, maker of the trade names Visine, Plax and Ben Gay and the ninth-largest diversified drug company in the United States, has shown it can pay to break off the partnership once the know-how has been absorbed.

"There's a long learning curve," said James Williams, executive assistant to the president of Pfizer Pharmacenticals Inc. As the knowledge flowed back into the company, we gained the experience to take direct control of the sales networks."

The original joint venture that gave Pfizer its foothold, Taito Pfizer, was set up in 1955 with Taito, a food and drug com pany affiliated with trading company Mitsni & Co. The venture was profitable from

the ontset and growth was rapid. "We've certainly benefited from the relationship" with Taito, said Mr. Williams. Many senior executives with the parent company began their careers with Taito or

Of its 2,894 employees in Japan, "less than 10 of these are non-Japanese," hesaid. That gives Pfizer an instant rapport with customers possible only with a Japanese sales and support staff, without the added overhead of overseas postings.

Officials in the mergers and acquisitions departments of a leading Japanese bank and brokerage, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Pfizer will soon take another important step in its campaign for market penetration. Its Schneider subsidiary, which specializes in catheters for use

in angioplasty surgery, will buy out its

The acquisition of Koshin Medical by Schneider will be for roughly \$23 million.

International marriages like that of Pfizer and Koshin are likely to increase over the next few years as foreign companies, stymied by Japan's tangled distribution system, take advantage of regulatory reforms and lower stock and real estate prices to buy into existing networks, said Hiroo Watanabe, general manager of mergers and acquisitions at Yamaichi Se-

Mr. Williams said Pfizer had "looked at the numbers for some of the top 20" drug wholesalers in Japan but shelved the idea of a major acquisition for now. "The ratios make it very difficult to justify acquisition of a serious company," he said. "We're looking at doubling in size in the next 15 years and that's enough to manage" without negotiating a major purchase.

Pfizer began acquiring equity from Taito in the 1970s and completed its ac-

The company took a bit in sales following the buyout, but it was able to surpass 1983 sales by 1990. Sales fell from 72.02 billion yen (\$570 million) in 1983 to 63.2 billion yen in 1984, and operating income

Although operating profits have remained in a range of 5 billion to 7 billion yen, sales have surged in the past three years. In the year that ended last Nov. 30, Pfizer Pharmaceutical had sales of 78.5 billion yen, up from 72.13 billion the pre-vious year. Operating profits were 5.62

dropped from 13.44 billion yen to 7.7

Prescription drug sales alone rose by 14 percent, making Pfizer one of two foreign drug companies, along with Nippon Roche, that managed double-digit sales growth in 1991. Sales and profits are expected to increase steadily over the next

Drug companies have a relatively easy time introducing new products in Japan, said Mr. Williams, because "there's no way you can put up a trade barrier to a good medical product."

Very briefly:

Cycle & Carriage Ltd., the Singapore car distributor, and its partner, Hotel Properties Ltd., sealed their takeover of Malayan Credit Ltd. by acquiring their target of 85 percent of MCL's issued share capital.

 Jasmine International Co. and Loxley (Bangkok) Co.'s joint venture was chosen by a Thai government panel to install 1 million telephone lines in the provinces; Northern Telecom Ltd. and Alcatel NV will be suppliers.

 Minolta Camera Co. had a group current loss of 15.78 billion yen (\$124.8 million) in the year that ended March 31, after a 2.21 billion yen loss a year earlier; it expects to have a 5 billion yen loss this year.

• Koos Group, the Taiwan business group, plans to sell its 33 percent stake in Mandarin Airlines, an airline formed last year.

. Berjaya Group Bhd. said one of its units would sell a 10-story office tower at the KL Plaza in Kuala Lumpur to Prudential Assurance Bbd. for 35 million ringgit (\$13.9 million); another unit will buy three floors at the Nagaria complex from Nural Enterprise Sdn. for 9.37 million ringgit.

Leader Universal Holding Bhd. of Malaysia has submitted an official offer to shareholders of Federal Cables, Wires & Metals Manufacturing Bbd. in its takeover bid. Ekran Bbd. and Sapura Holdings Sdn. are competing with Leader but have not submitted official offers.

AMEX

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地震用作品的现在

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SPORTS NBAFER

Bulls Keep Title — the Hard Way

By David Aldridge Washington Past Service
CHICAGO — They are a differ-

ent kind of champion, these Chica-go Bulls. They do things the hard way, and don't seem to want it any other way. Playing at bome, they were down by 17 points in the Portland Trail Blazers in the second half, only in rally in the fourth quarter with every conceivable player other than Michael Jordan on the court to win Game 6 by 97-93 and defend their National Basketball Association championship,

four games to two. The Bulls trailed hy 15 points after three quarters Sunday might, but went on a 13-2 run to begin the fourth quarter, with guys such as Bobhy Hansen and Stacey King and B.J. Armstrong on the floor.

"I was just cheering the way the guys would have if I was in the game," said Jordan, the unanimous choice as most valuable player of the final series. "I was thinking that if I could get back in, maybe I fourth quarter," Drexler said.

Bench Rallies Champions Past Blazers in 6th Game

dan scored 12 of his game-high 33 points, including the two that tied the score and the two that put Chicago ahead with less than four min-

Clyde Drexler (24 points) tied it, but Scottie Pippen (26 points) put Chicago back up by two with a foul-line jump shot, and Jordan's fadeaway at the 1:39 mark made it Portland got within two twice

more, but Jordan had an answer each time, driving the baseline for a lay-up with 37 seconds left and sinking two clinching free throws with 11.8 seconds to go.

could make things happen. Maybe
I could make a difference."
And in the final six minutes, JorAnd in the final six minutes, Jor-

go before halftime.

player in the world.

right of the key.

Bulls to 46-37. A little more than a

minute later, he was there for an-

other 3-pointer after Pippen re-

bounded a miss by John Paxson.

That made it a six-point game.
Still, Portland kept Chicago

from getting closer before the half, taking a 50-44 lead into the break.

The Trail Blazers were in charge, 79-64, at the end of the third peri-

od, in which their grew to 17 points.
But Chicago rallied to start the

fourth quarter, and things quickly

began to unravel for Portland. Re-

segan to unaver for Portland. Re-serve guard Hansen began the shredding with a 3-pointer and, af-ter a free throw by King, Pippen posted up Drexler, who couldn't guard him closely because of foul trouble, to make it 79-70.

Cliff Robinson came across the

lane for two for Portland, but King

dropped in two more free throws

and Pippen agaio posted up Drexler to make it 81-74 with 10

minutes left. After Drexler double

dribhled, Armstrong's baseliner with 9:13 remaining made it a five-

point game. Buck Williams was called for an

offensive foul at the other end, and

another two free throws King drew Chicago to 81-78 with 8:36 left. The Blazers called their third time-

out of the quarter.
All of this happened with Jordan

Jordan became the second player

to be twice voted MVP of both the

regular season and the final -

Larry Bird of the Boston Celtics

did so in 1984 and 1986 - but the

first to win both awards in consecu-

on the bench.

"When the game was on the line, the Bulls turned the intensity up and took control," said Portland's coach, Rick Adelman. "We played an excellent game for three quarters, but then we got canght out of syne oo offense, we got tired and couldo't hold them off."

The Bulls fell behind by nine points early in the second quarter. but came back while Jordan was oo the bench. Pippen sandwiched five points around a lay-up by Jerome Kersey and Bill Cartwright's turn-around following a Portland offensive foul, bringing Chicago to 32-28 with 7:23 left in the half.

The Blazers regrouped and ripped



Michael Jordan took the low road around Kevin Duckworth but stood tall when it counted.

SIDELINES

German Official Quits Over Ruling on Krabbe

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The Standing European Cherypiania a stead)

First Round Match

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Semifinals

Sunday, June 21

Final

ASSESSMENT

Major League Standings

MERICAN LEAGUE

MATIONAL LEAGUE

chance of the mater.

Scottish -inge

BONN (Reuters) — Günther Emig, head of the legal commission of the German Athletics Federation that overturned a four-year ban on double world sprint champion Katrin Krabbe in April, resigned in a letter last week, the federation's general secretary. Jan Kern, said Monday. Kern said Emig accused the DLV executive body of not backing the legal commission ruling as Krabbe's case waits for settlement by the as Krahbe's case waits for settlement by the International Amateur Athletic Federation.

The Neubrandenburg Nordkurier newspaper in Krabbe's hometown reported Monday that she said she may not compete in the German track championships in Munich next weekend,

the final Olympic qualifying meet.

TAC, the U.S. athletics governing body, said it will send legal representatives to Wednesday's federal court hearing for suspended 400-meter world record-holder Butch Reynolds.

(AP)

Becker Fires Smid

LONDON (AP) - Boris Becker has fired his Czechoslovakian coach, Tomas Smid, just a week before the start of Wimbledon.

Smid, the three-time Wimbledon champion's fourth coach, flew back to Germany on Sunday. Becker confirmed the firing but gave no reason.

For the Record

Rick Bowness was named Monday the coach () of the NHL expansion Ottawa Senators, a week after being fired by the Boston Bruins: (AP) Jay Haas won the St. Jude Classic golf tournament in Memphis, Temessee, by three strokes over Dan Forsman and Robert Gamez. (AP)

Anne-Marie Palli of France, with a 2-foot birdie on the first playoff hole, beat Laura Davies of the United States in the LPGA Classic in Somers Point, New Jersey.

Hiroki loka of Japan, with a unammous decision over Kim Bong Jun of South Korea, re-tained his WBA junior flyweight title Monday

Looting and Violence Mar Celebration Of Bulls' Second Straight NBA Crown

CHICAGO - Violence and looting broke out as fans filled the streets to celebrate the Chicago Bulls' victory, the city's second consecutive National Basketball Associatioo championship.

About 750 people had been arrested, according to a 4 A.M. count, and a police official said he expected the number to reach 1,000 by the time the police were done processing those arrested.

Looting was reported from the tony downtown Michigan Avenue to a four-block strip of stores on

the West Side. Two people were critically burned when looters set fire to a liquor store on the South Side, police and hospital officials said.

A police officer handling crowd control was hospitalized after being shot in the foot. A second officer was shot in the calf, a spokeswoman said Sunday night. He was treated for the wound but not bospitalized. At least 300 people were arrested, the spokeswoman said, and several other police-It was the first professional title won at home hy

a Chicago team since 1963, when the Bears beat the New York Giants for the National Football League championship at Wrigley Field. Looters broke into a oumber of businesses along

a West Side commercial strip as police tried to

disperse a crowd of hundreds. Some shopkeepers sprayed fire extinguishers to keep people away

Michael Jordan, the Bulls' star, appealing for calm, said, "Let's enjoy ourselves, but let's oot tear

up the city. It's our city." Two taxis were destroyed on Division Street in a North Side nightlife district where thousands gath-

"People are jumping on cars like they were trampolines," said Richard Clifton, a bellman who was watching from the Claridge Hotel.

The police were pelted with bottles and cans. Windows on at least 30 Chicago Transit Authority huses were smashed as they drove their routes, said a coordinator. No passengers or drivers were re-

The police began going door to door to close taverns at the North Side celebration around 11 P.M., five hours early. Mounted police worked to clear the streets. Some fans later walked to nearby stores where they hroke out windows and looted. A thousand police officers were pot on doty, and

bars were asked to use plastic cups to keep glass off the streets. But the crowds swelled to thousands less than an hour after the Bulls won at Chicago Stadium on the West Side.

Heckled Tyson: 'Not the Most Popular Inmate in Here' NEW YORK - Mike Tysoo has avoided

trouble even though he has been heckled by other inmates in the Indiana prison where he is serving a sentence for rape, the former heavyweight champion has told Ed Bradley

Bradley, in an interview to be telecast on "Street Stories" Thursday night, spoke to Tyson on May 26 at the Indiana Youth Center at Plainfield, where he is serving his sixyear sentence for rape.

PEANUTS

"I know I'm not the ... most popular inmate in here because . . I stand up for what I believe in," Tyson said when asked if he felt threatened. "I basically say what's on my mind, and from prior experience I know that could, .. land me in a lot of trouble.

"I haven't had any problems," Tyson said when asked about how other immates treat him. "Just, you know, sometime when you walk, and -you really can't understand this prison. because it's oot like a prison that you may

homes.... People yell out the window, this and that to somebody." Tyson told of a time he was beckled.

"And so one day it's Mike Tyson, you [expletive deleted] tree jumper, he said. "And I didn't know what a tree jumper was. I thought it meant like I was a great athlete or something, jumping out of trees. And I was... 'What's a tree jumper?' And they said, 'A tree jumper's a rapist. You know, you wait for little kids to go by. You jump up a tree and grab 'em.' I said, 'Oh, Christ.'" think. You walk, and people, like their

CHESS

By Robert Byrne

T N the clite Dortmund International Tournament, in Germany, which finished at the end of April, the 17-year-old of New York, succeeded with a vigorous mating attack against the 19-year-old Latvian grandmaster Aleksei Shirov, in the seventh round.

What looked as though it was beading for a Semi-Slav Defense became a Queen's Gambit Declined, Orthodox Defense, after the exchange 5 cd ed.

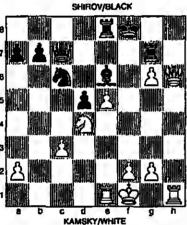
On 7...g6, Black's intention is to answer 8 e3 by 8...Bf5 and achieve a smooth development. In the last few years, however, White has worked to subvert that plan by playing 8 e4!? de 9 Bf6 Bf6 10 Qe4 Qe7 11 Be4. It is true that a game between Boris Gulko and Artur Yusupov in Munich 1990 ended in an early draw after 11...O-O 12 O-O Bf5 13 Qf4 Qb4, yet the black position does oot seem secure here after 14 Ne5!? Thus, Shirov introduced a oew plan with 8...O-O.

After 9 e5, it would have been wrong

to play 9...Bf5? because 10 ef! Bc2 11 fe Res 12 Kd2 will yield White three minor pieces for a queen with a vastly superior

Kamsky wisely declined the gambit after 9...Ne4 because 10 Bh6 Re8 11 Ne4 de 12 Qe4 Bf5 13 Qf4 Qa5 14 Nd2 c5 would give Black a mighty counterat-

. His 11 Bd3 virtually forced Shirov to strengthen the white center with 11...Nc3 12 bc and on 12...c5, he ambitiously



Position after 25 . . , Kf8

started to attack the black king with 13 h4!? Perhaps Shirov should have tried to break the grip of the white pieces against his king by thrusting 13...c4, but even then, after 14 Be2 Bf5 15 Qd2, the black

Kamsky ignored the bold 13...cd to press his onslaught with 14 h5! which reatened to blast the hlack king with 15 hg hg 16 Bg6! Shirov sacrificed a pawn with 14...g5 15 Bh7 in the hope of keep-ing kingside lines as closed as possible under the circumstances.

Yet, after 15...Kh8, Kamsky resumed his plan of getting open roads to the king by sacrificing a bishop with 16 Bg6! Accepting the offer with 16...fg 17 hg would have fueled the American's attack. For example, 17...Kg8 18 Bg5! Bg5 19 g7! Kt7 20 Qh7 Rg8 21 Qh5 Ke6 22 Ng5 Kd7 23 Qt7 Kc6 24 Rh6 Kb5 25 Rd6 is application. Moreover, 17. Bf6 could annihilating. Moreover, 17...Bf6 could encounter the killing 18 Bf8 Kg8 19 g7! Bg7 20 Bg7 Kg7 21 Rh7 Kf8 22 Qg6.

Kamsky renewed his piece sacrifice with 18 Qd2 and Shirov had oothing better than to take it with 18...fg and let Kamsky activate a rook with 19 hg.

After 22 Be7, there was oo hope in 22...Qc5 23 Kf1 Re7 24 Re1 Qf6 25 Rc6 Re6 26 Nc6 Qc6 27 Qh6 Qf6 28 Qh7 Kf8 29 Qh8 Qh8 30 Rh8 Kg7 31 Ra8.

After 25 ... Kf8, Kamsky's 26 Rh4 ended meanigful resistance. After 30 gf. Shirov had no stomach for the hopeless ending that arises from 30...Kf7 31 cd

QUEEN'S GAMBIT DECLINED

1 44

BOOKS

By Lawrence Thornton. 302 pages. \$19.95. Ticknor & Fields, 215 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10003.

Reviewed by Bruce Brown

O NE OF the most interesting developments in American fiction over-the last several decades has been the emergence of a oew kind of coastal western in which no dogies are punched, nary a sidewinder slaps leather, and discouraging words are heard.
This boisterous, regionally flavored

literature includes Don Berry's "Trask," Ivan Doig's "The Sea Runners," Annie Dillard's "The Living" (just published), and oow "Ghost Woman" by Lawrence Thornton.

None is more ambitious than "Ghost Woman." Thornton has set himself a massive, multidimensional task spanning generations and cultures. Part historical fiction, part pagan invocation, "Ghost Woman" paints a picture powerful enough to freeze a look of terror on the face of the Catholie priest, Fra Santos, who starts the saga so hopefully.
"Ghost Woman" is based on an old

legend involving an Indian woman from the island of San Nicholas off the California coast. Wheo Spanish authorities forced the woman's tribe to leave the island during the 19th century, she jumped off the boat into the sea. Swimming ashore, she lived on the desolate island for years until Fra Santos organized an expedition to bring her to the mission at Santa Barbara, and Christianity. The woman was presented to the archbishop as an example of Church's compassion and concern for each solitary soul.

Before long though, she was raped and impregnated by the Yankee captain whose boat brought her off the island. The woman, called Soledad, hanged herself after the child of this union was taken from her, but that's really just the begin-ning of the story. The crime of possession - at once literal, symbolic, sexual and otherworldly - continues to mark the lives of the people who knew the Ghost Woman. The rape of Soledad's daughter
— by the same Yankee who raped her seems as inevitable as the torture her half-brother devises for their mutual father, to be left alone on the barren island where he found Soledad 20 years before. There are moments when the imagery and concep-

the prose becomes incandescent.
Too often, however, "Ghost Woman"
feels like a forced march. Thornton gives the impression he has a lot of ground to cover, and time's awasting. The plot seems to arise from the needs of the author's scheme as much as from the living, breath-ing needs of the characters. Much of the prose sounds hurried, too. Thornton is a gifted writer with a marvelously supple voice, but in "Ghost Woman" he serves up acres of flat narrative prose.

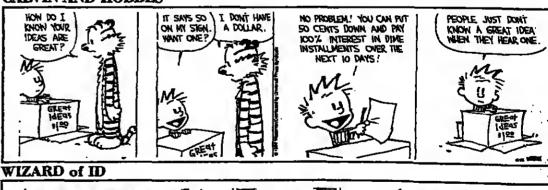
tion of Ghost Woman are so striking that

Still, I admire Lawrence Thornton for "Ghost Woman." He has attempted a bold stroke, prodigal and vast, seeking magic in hard-eyed realism.

Bruce Brown, whose most recent book is "Dr. Whacko's Guide to Slow-Pitch Softball," a novel, wrote this for The Washing-

HEY PILOT, CAN WE IT'S RAINING!) FLY IN THE RAIN?

BEETLE BAILEY YOUR APRON'S) I KNOW...I ON BACKWARDS) CAN'T TIE IT WHAT ARE YOU ITIET IN FRONT, SUPPOSED TO BE. PLEASE. BEHIND MY MY PRESENT THEN SLIDE 17 BACK AROUND CALVIN AND HOBBES



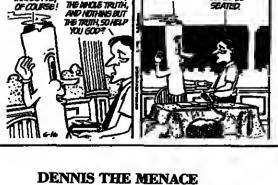




















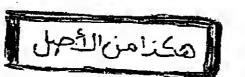


YOU'RE MY BEST FRIEND, MR. WILSON AND MARGARET IS MY WORST FRIEND."

and the control of the second war as the



CREEK ORIQUE RARELY



SPORTS EURO 3

International Herold Tribune Germany's competitive power is mising as all knew it would, and Scotland's underdogs are the first to be eliminated from this European Championship, as even they sus-

But what a fight the Tartan tigers anade of it in Norrkoping's packed Ideottspark stadium Monday evening. Germany's 2-0 victory testified to one cool finish and one decidedly lucky deflection, but the depth and relentlessness of the Scottish spirit created and, alas, squandered the greater number of

After all the excuses for the orgaaized boredom, the rule by fear that has disfigured this tournament, here at last was a contest between two teams prepared to attack, to go for broke, to exhaust heart and mind and muscle seeking

Scotland set the tone from the start. With vow of the German manager, Berti Vogt, that "we shall send Scotland home to Glasgow," ringing in their ears, the Scots attacked with force and invention. They created five chances against the world champions in the opening 20 minutes. Bodo Ilgner, an oft criticized German goalkeep-er, had to be bold with saves at the feet of Gary McAllister and Brian

Fand McStay, a Celtic player try-ing to impress AS Monaco of France into buying him for \$3 million, was the playmaker behind this Scottish surge.

And the height and ferocity that Scotland's captain, Richard Gough, generates in the air forced a third fine save from Ilgner, then provided the distraction from which his fellow defender, David McPherson, missed the most open chance of the match.

Such opportunities cannot be squandered if a team is to survive Germany's quick counters. Thomas Hassler, whose marvelously curled free-kick saved Germany from defeat against the CIS team, is growing beyond his diminutive size into the German midfield lead-

He bubbles with ideas. He has

The Standings

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First Round Matches

All Hanes ore GMT Windowsday, June 17 5.5weden, Group 1, Stockt nd vs. C15. Group 2, Horrispins, 1815

Semifinals

Fînal

come to love the responsibility in the absence of the team's captain, Lothar Matthäus. And his quick, smart moves offered chances

spurned by Karl-Heinz Riedle. This was incredible. The game flowed like an angry tide from goal-mouth to goalmouth, with nervous energy too excitable to capitalize on more chances this night than in most of the previous six matches.

But Garmany got its guns sighted in first. In the 29th minute, five of its men - Köhler, Möller, Sammer, Klinsmann and Riedle found each other with passes through the middle of the pitch.

Finally, Matthias Sammer showed great determination in riding out a Scottish tackie, Jürgen Klinsmann was poised in control-ling the ball and Riedle was an opportunist with his straight, low shot past goalkeeper Andy Goram.

That gave the Scots two choices: Hang their heads in shame and self pity, or give their all in trying to harrass and chase the Germans out of their stride.

There was no question which cause Scotland chose, Higher and higher pumped the adrenaline, faster and faster became the con-

But the Germans like to battle, too. And in the 47th minute a capricious slice of luck put Germany two goals up when an intended cross from Stefan Effenberg struck the outstretched leg of Maurice Malpas and looped into the Scot-

That misfortune evened itself out when first Klinsmann, then Hässler hit the Scot's posts, and a truer scoreline to this welcome contest would have favored the Germans

by perhaps 4-2.
But nothing could detract from the pride and passion with which Scotland fought to the end. The yellow cards for fouls by Hässler and Stewart McCall in the dying moments were unnecessarily harsh, and the wounds that will give Germany some hangovers were also no proper indication of the fairness of

Riedle was first to surrender, with a bloodied nose after colliding with Gough. Then, after a fearful crack of skulls in the 73d minute between Mccall and Stefan Renter the German was carried off, his head swathed in a towell.

Finally, with Gough still giving it everything, the Scottish captain and Guido Buchwald thrust their heads at another corner driven into Germany's goalmouth. Down they.

fell, both concussed. · But there never was a moment of malice, nor even of any player on either side attempting to gain un-

"We gave everything we had, but Germany is a fantastic team," conceded the Scottish manager, Andy Roxburgh, "The Germans did what we didn't do, they finished. I've wished Berti Vogts all the best, be-cause a team of that quality de-serves to get to the final."

Scotland — Goram; McKimmle, McPherson, Gough, Majoas; McAllis-ter, McStay, McCall, McClair; Durie (55th minute Nevin), McColst (71st

minute Gellacher).
Germany: ligner; Kohler, Binz,
Buchwald; Effenberg, Häseler, Sam-rner, Mölter, Brehme; Klinsmann, Riedie (70th minute Reuter, 74th minute

Yellow carda - Germany: Hassier 85th minute; Scotland: McCall 90th

Germany Defeats Scots in Thriller CIS Goalie Kharin Stops Dutch in Scoreless Draw bated by a painful tackle to his ankle early in the second half. By Ian Thomsen CIS Goalie Kharin Stops Dutch in Scoreless Draw Control of the second half with a bated by a painful tackle to his ankle early to Bergkamp's substitution in the final mo horizontal save of a Frank Rijkaard pinball German melodrama of Friday nig Alexei Mikhailchenko and Igor Ko

GOTHENBURG, Sweden - Haven't

we seen this before? Not quite. The Netherlands and the Commonwealth of Independent States played Monday to a scoreless draw — the third hollow result of these European Championships and the fifth tie in eight matches - but against any goalkeeper other than Dimitri Kharin, the Dutch might have converted three or more balls into

They appeared successful in the 78th minnte when Marco van Basten headed in a cross from substitute Johnny van't Ship, who minutes earlier had relieved Rund Gullit, whose apparent fatigue was exacer-

The offside call nullifying the headed ments when he broke for the ball.

recollections of the legendary Soviet net-minder Lev Yachine, who introduced himself at the World Cup level at this very stadium in 1958.

Kharin, 24, one of only four starters still playing for a CIS club (CSKA Moscow), thwarted Dennis Bergkamp on likely

Karl-Heinz Riedle, left, opened the scoring in the 29th minute with a low shot that beat Scotland's goalkeeper, Andy Goram.

goal was brought into question by a televi-sion replay indicating that van Basten was at least even with backliner Ahrik Tsveiba played the ball into the onrushing dive of played the ball into the ourushing dive of Kharin. The Russians might not have been If the linesman was at all uncertain, who displeased when Tsveiba soon earned his can blame him for granting the benefit of second booking in as many games, taking the doubt to Kharin? His performance allowed historians to wipe dust from their keep Tsveiba out of the match Thursday with Scotland.

> Bergkamp then dribbled around Tsveiba and, from eight meters, pot the ball into the arms of Kharin. Late in the half, a Bergkamp blast from 25 meters knocked Kharin back a half-step. Earlier Kharin had oudged a Brian Roy header over the

header crossed short from the end line by

المكالنمانده

"I don't think his play today demands any commentary at all," said the CIS manager, Anatoli Byshovets.

"For sure, be was very good," conceded Dutch manager Rinus Michels.

In his substitutions Michels expressed

bated by a painful tackle to his ankle early chances three times in the first half, leading. bar. Then he began the second half with a in the 90th minute, almost recreated the German melodrama of Friday night when Alexei Mikhailchenko and Igor Kolyvanov converged on a short back pass that forced a dive out of Dutch goalkeeper Hans van Breukelen.

If the results after eight games have been less than satisfactory, they've at least established a third round of matches at midweek in which six of the eight teams will finally In his substitutions Michels expressed have reason to score goals, their possible frustration in trying to combat the CIS reward being advancement to the semilidefense, exposed in the open field only by a nals. Indeed, the Netherlands' date Thurs-Bergkamp sprint past and around Oleg
Kuznetsov early in the second half. Otherwise the Netherlands' opponents were content to remain behind the ball, though they

and around Oleg
anticipated as the meeting of the tournament's two powers — has now been provided meaning, since the CIS will threaten to did counterattack surgically at times, and, unseat one of them if it can beat Scotland.

English Fans Riot Again in Malmo STOCKHOLM — Police escort-ed bundreds of English soccer fans to a separate camp Monday when they arrived on special trains from ther violence.

Malmo after a second night of riot-Ponce said 28 people had been detained Mooday, bringing the oumber of Englishmen arrested

during the European Championship to more than 90. Swedish radio said another 10 were arrested Mouday on suspicion of fighting and boarding trains without paying.

The trains were bringing fans from the southern city of Malmo to the capital, where England plays Sweden on Wednesday. Malmo's second riot in two days

started at 1 A.M. when an English fan grabbed a microphone from a band and shouted, "Let's get them" to a group of beer-drinking countrymen who swarmed into the square. Police reported one Englishman was knifed, but his wounds were oot life-threatening, and one Swede was taken to the hospital after being bitten by a police dog.

Gustaf Andersson, a deputy police commissioner, said that the violence had been planned, and that the people behind it apparently had

dent of UEFA, warned that English clubs and the national team could be barred from future European competition if there was fur-

The latest trouble broke out a few hours after Sunday night's France-England match.

It began near a beer tent in Stortorget, the big square that had been the scene of Saturday night's fight-ing. Police, on borseback and teamed with attack dogs, had 200 reinforcements on Sunday from the west coast city of Goteborg.

Six of those detained in the Monday riot were charged with assault, inciting violence, attacking a police officer and vandalism.

Seventeen were held in custody for up to six bours for causing a disturbance, five for drunkenness, In Copenhagen, two Englishmen were arrested late Sunday, making a total of 20 arrests in the Danish capital, a ferry-ride away from Malmo.

Also in Copenhagen, three English fans were being beld in jail awaiting trial, charged with trying to exchange forged banknotes. The three were caught wheo they

tried to change £80 (\$150) at a bank at Copenhagen's main railway sta-

Vincent, Citing 'New Information,' Delays Decision on Steinbrenner

NEW YORK - Commissioner Fav Vincent, who said last week that he hoped to reveal his decision Monday on George Steinbrenner's request for reinstatement to active duty with the New York Yankees, has delayed his announcement. "In the last few days, new information has come to light that

released Monday by Vincent's office. "The information relates to Mr. Steinbrenner's conduct under his

July 30, 1990, agreement with the commissioner. Pending further consideration of the quality and reliability of that information, the commissioner will not take any action concerning Mr. Steinbrenner's request." Last week, it appeared Vincent was on the verge of granting

Steinbrenner's request to return to the belin of the Yankees. The commissioner and Steinbrenner's representatives were to meet Monday to go over final wording of the decision before making it official The New York Times, citing "middle- and high-level officials" within the Yankees organization, said several current and former team officials believe Steinbrenner has violated his agreement with

Vincent by talking to club officials since the ban.

"A lot of people would like to let it be known to the commission. cr," the Times quoted an unidentified team official as saying.

Asked if he knew of any communications between Steinbrenne and team officials which would violate the agreement, Vincent told the Times, "There are matters that we're pursoing."

A's Don't Dominate - They Just Win Brown failed to become the ma- in the ninth beat Chicago. The line in two starts against the Brewers The Associated Press

The way Bob Welch sees it, the Oakland Athletics exactly dominate the visiting Texas Rangers in sweeping three games. It just turned out that way on the scoreboard.

any means," Welch said after he returned from the disabled list on Sunday to pitch the Athletics past the Rangers, 6-1. "The first two games were oght and could have gone either way."

Welch and four relievers held the Rangers to five hits for the first A's sweep over the Rangers in Oakland since September 1984. Welch is 5-0 in nine starts against Texas. Welch gave up two hits over 5% innings. The Rangers threw their top

guns - Nolan Ryan, Bobby Witt and Kevin Brown -at the A's over the weekend and left without a victory. Texas also fell four games behind the first-place Athletics in American League West.

jor league's first 10-game winner. drive into the left-center field gap rise to 29.70. falling behind by 5-0 by the fourth

AMERICAN LEAGUE

in the second and Jerry Browne drew a bases-loaded walk, the third third and scored on two grounders to make it 3-0. The next inning, Walt Weiss walked and scored when catcher Geno Petralli fielded

Browne's bunt and threw it into Browne ended up at third and scored on Randy Ready's single. Twins 8, White Sox 7: In Minne-

apolis, Kirby Puckett's RBI double the second inning and saw his ERA New York won a second straight.

extended Puckett's hitting streak to Il games and scored Chuck Knob- drove in four runs with a humer "I made good pitches and bad lauch, who had been hit by a pitch pitches, and they hit the holes," he from Scott Radinsky. The Twins, who led by 6-0, then

Willie Wilson had an RBI single trailed by 7-6 and ded the game in the seventh on Chili Davis' third hit, a double that scored Puckett.

Brewers 14, Mariners 4: Milwaukee tied a clob record with 22 hits, including four each by Paul Mobrun-scoring walk issued by the tor and Dave Nilsson, and used a Rangers' pitchers in two games. six-run second to end rookie Dave Jose Canseco doubled in the Fleming's nine-game winning streak in Seattle

The Brewers' 22 hits ned the club record reached three times previ-Twins on July 28, 1991.

ously, most recently against the major leagues' first 10-game win-

Fleming trying to become the

ner, was pounded for seven hits in

sweep and extended his team winning streak against Kansas City to eight games. In earlier games, reports on which appeared in some editions of Monday's International Herald Tri-

to help completed a three-game

Angels 5, Royals I: Luis Sojo

Blue Jays 6, Red Sox 2: John Olerud drove in three runs with a

bases-loaded double in the sixth in Toronto for a split of the four-game series with Boston.

Tigers 7, Orioles 4: In Detroit, Tony Phillips and Lou Whitaker each drove in two runs, and Chad Kreuter homered against Baltimore. Yankees 4, Indians 3: Mel Hall and Roberto Kelly started the 16th inning in Cleveland with doubles as

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BASEBALL

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Sunday's Line Scores

Maga, S. Davis (7) and Tockett, Holles (8);
Tonons, Hememon (8) and Kreuter, W—Tonana, S.S. L.—Masa, 2-7, Sv—Hememon (9).
HR—Detroit, Kreuter (2).

iond, Belle (13).

Botton 110 904 61x-6 6 6

Gardiner, Darwin (61, Young (7), Founce (3)
and Flaherty; Guzman, Ward (7) and Barders, W-Guzman, 8-1. L.—Gordiner, 3-4. Sv—Ward (7), HR—Toronto, Carler (14).

AMERICAN LEAGUE 128 814 906-4 8 801 938 21x-7 18

Now York 100 000 200 1-4 10 Cleveland 000 002 010 0-3 10 Johnson, Montaleone (7). Forr (10) and Notes: Scudder, Wickunder (7). Power (9). Lillioutst (10) and Alomor, W-Monteleone, 4-1. L.—Power. 1-L. Sv.—Porr (9). HR.—Cleve-

histonee 100 142 100-7 15 2
Histonee 100 142 100-7 15 2
Historia 100 100 100-8 7 2
Historia Poli (2), Rodinsky (8) and Fisk, arkovice (8); Toponi, Guttarie (5), Edens (6)

ong Horses: W.—Edens, 4-8. L.—Rodinsky, 2-3.
HR.—Chicago. Thomas (9).
Kassas City use 108 000—3 6 1
Colliernia use 22 20x—5 10 0
Gobicas, M. Davis (7) and Mayne; Volera,
Frey (8) and Orion. W.—Valera, 3-5. Gubicas,
6-4. Sv.—Frey (1). HRs.—California, Stevens
(5). Selo (2).

Texas one set see...] It is contained to the contained to

Mitrosubse 660 627 238—14 22 T Septitle 816 111 996—4 7 2 Bones, Piezsoc (7), Hotmas (9) and Nileson; Plemins, Acker (3), J. Nelson (3), Genderson (3) and Volte, Coctrone (6), W.—Bones, 3-2 L— Plemins, 3-2 HR3—Milyeurhes, Youri (5), Seattle, E. Martinez (6), T. Martinez (5), Volte (3).

MATIONAL LEAGUE

Son Diego 600 662—2 7 1
Attornio 178 621 662—4 12 6
Hurst, Melendez (61, Medidux (7) and Wal-less; Leibrands, Wolters (9) and Otson. W— Leibrands, Volters (9) and Otson. W— Leibrands, 4-2 L—Horst. 4-5. Su—Yohker (3). HRs—San Diego, Teulei (2). Attorna, Gard 19). Prinsbergh 980 182 961—5 ? Liter York 818 961 965 4 \$ 1 Drubek, Necgle (8), Gleatin (9), Berlinda (9) and LuYutilere; Gooden, Innis (8), Franco (9) and O'Brien, W.—Neogle, 3-4, L.—Innis, 4-1, Sv.—Betinda (9), HR.—New York, Marrow 77.

Monthed 17 over 4 1 Chicase 914 80 80:-5 9 1 HRL Young (3), Sampen (5), Wetteland (0) and Cerone) Jackson, Robbason (6), Assan-macher 80, Scankar (9) and Girardi, W— Jackson, 2-7, L—Hill, 5-4

Sea Francisco 218 ven 184-7 12 1
Hearine 206 226 132-15 14 6
Righetti, Borto (4) and Marwarine; J.
Jones, R. Marphy (4), Boever (5), Bladr (8),
Motilcoet (9) and Tucker. W-Rkurphy, 1-1.
L-Righetti, 1-4. HRs.—San Francisco. Base
(2), Houston, Incovisito 2 (4). 000 078 075-2 G Philodelphia 806 817 176—2 8 1 \$2. Leats 223 902 Nan-5 12 1 Brink, Harriey (4), Brantley (4) and Daul-ton; Cormier, Warrest (3), Acclure (1), Smith (1) and Pannazzi, W.—Cormier, 1-5 L.—Brink, 9-2 Sv—Smith (17), HR—Philodelphia, Marsh (1).

R. Martinez, S.Wilson (6), Gott (8) and C. mandez; Swinderi, Dibble (9) and Swinderi, 62 L.-R. Martinez, 3-

AUTO RACING

Results of Sendon's Formatic Over race, with storting position to porcetinesses, country, it yes et out, least completed and winner's everage speed to make: 1.(4) Gentred Benger, Austria, McLoran-Hondo, 69, 117,378 mph. (188,865 kbh.); 2, (5) Michael Schumacher, Genmany, Benetten-Ford, 69, running; 1, (8) Jean Aleal, Frances, Ferrart, 69, running; 1, (8) Jean Aleal, Frances, Ferrart, 69, running; 1, (14) Audrea DeCesarts, Italy, Tyrretilizor, 64, running. 7, (14) Authors, France, Lieter-Remout, 68, running; 7, (16) Michael Alborets, Italy, Footwork, Magenthondo, 64, running; 8, (15) Pier Lutsi Martini, Roly, BANS Dellaro-Ferrart, 65, running; 9, (20) J. J. Letta, Finland, Bill, Collaro-Ferrart, 65, running; 10, (21) Triberry

Dallaro-Ferrari, 6t. running; 14, (21) Thierry Boutsen, Belgium, Ligier-Renault, 67, running. 11, (13) Gloral Morbadell, Irally, Antaros-Lombershita, 67, runnleg; 12, (26) Olivier Groutliard, France, Tyrrell-Iknor, 67, run-nleg; 13, (25) Christian Fithiooki, Brazil, Min-ardi-Lembershital, 65; 14, (20) Poul Be-ancide, France, March-Ilmor, 64, running; 15, (11) Ukya Katavama, Japan, Venturi-Lom-legation, 64 borghini, 61.
Drivers Standings: 1. Morsell, 56 points; 2.
Patress, 21; I. Schumocher, 26; 4. Senna, 18; (Hzl Berser, 18; 4. Alea], 11; 7. Albarelo, 5; (Hzl Brundie, 5; 9, De Casaris, 4; 16, Wand-

G136-0010 HAIT!

Raper, 3; 1), Cosetti, 2; (HeT Martini 2; 13, Herbert, 1; (HeT Hakkiner, 1; (He) Gochot, 1; 31; 4. Ferrur L 13; E. Footwork Mugers-H 6. Tyrrell-Ilmor, 4: 7. March-Ilmor, 3: 6, BMS

Chicayo wos series 4-2)
Portiend 25 29 29 14-93
Chicayo 19 25 29 33-97
PORTLAND: Kersev 11-20 2-2 24, B. Williams 1-45-57, Duckworth 2-36-4, Dreader 8-14
7-72, Porter 7-15 7-7 22, Robinson 5-16 6-0 10,
Atrage 1-2 6-0 2, Totals 35-78 2-12 F2,
Chicago: Piezen 9-17-6-4 24, Granti 1-18-22,
Cartherlight 2-5 6-0 4, Prosson 6-9 8-0 14, Jordan
13-34-5-13, S. Williams 2-5 6-0 4, Armstrone 3-7
0-6, Hansert 1-18-02, Levingsfon 8-9 1-11, King
1-4-3-4, Stroles 3-9-7, 15-7, 17,
2-Point gods—Portland 3-7 (Porter 1-2,
Dreater 1-3, Kertagy 6-1, Arms 6-11, Chicago 6-13 (Piezen 2-3, Jordan 2-3, Honsen 1-1, Postson
1-4, Armstrons 9-2). Penfed get—None, Rebounds—Portland 3-7 (Kertagy 9-1, Chicago 3-7
(S. Williams 61, Assists—Portland 21 (Porter
77, Chicago 20 (Grant 5). Total feets—Portland
3-4, Chicago 19, Flogrant fool—Kersey,

BASKETBALL

ro-Ferrert.2: (Ne 1 Lotus-Ford. 2: 10. Ven

SOCCER SPANISH CUP Apoli First Les 2. Deportive La Coruna 8

Reds Give Black Night to Dodgers The Associated Press

The Los Angeles Dodgers can't seem to catch anything these days. And if that doesn't change soon,

The Reds swept the Dodgers for the first time in six years by turning Greg Swindell's nine-hit pitching and the Dodgers' continued bumbling into a 5-1 victory Sunday night in Cincinnati.

they'll never catch the Cincinnao

man into two decisive first-inning rons off Ramon Martinez, who has lost his last three starts. Chris Sabo added a solo homer, Barry Larkin had an RBI single, and reliever Steve Wilson threw

two wild pitches to let in the Reds' final run in the seventh. Los Angeles has lost 4 straight and 9 of 12 to fall within a game of last in the NL West, 8½ behind the first-place Reds. The Dodgers lost their last two in Cincinnati because

of lousy fielding. "If we play like that, I don't think we're going to have any chance," a dejected Martinez said.

Swindell gave them few chances to make up for the sloppy play. The left-hander allowed just six hits over the first eight innings, finally yielding to Rob Dibble with one out in the ninth after giving up an RBI single to Juan Samuel.

Pete Incaviglia hit two homers and NATIONAL LEAGUE

Astros 15, Giants 7: In Houston,

drove in a career-high seven runs The resurgent Reds turned anduring the rout of San Francisco. other error by shortstop Jose Offer-It was the eighth time Incaviglia has hit two homers in a game and his seven RBIs tied the chib record set by Rafael Ramirez on Ang. 29, 1989, against Chicago.

> Cardinals 5, Phillies 2: Tom Pagnozzi drove in two runs in St. Louis. Rheal Cormier won his first game in six decisions, allowing Philadelphia only one run and six hits in seven innings. He was sent to the minors for a week this month and had not won since last Oct. 2.

In earlier games, reports on

which appeared in some editions of victory in 28 starts for the Cubs.

league contract in January.

Monday's International Herald Tri-

Pirates 5, Mets 4: An error by second baseman Willie Randolph and Andy Van Slyke's sacrifice fly in the ninth in New York gave Pittsburgh its first sweep at Shea Stadium in three seasons, and the Pirates their fifth straight victory. Barry Bonds left the game after burting his rib cage while hitting in the ninth. After X-rays back in Pittsburgh, it was found he had a strained muscle in his right side but

it was uncertain how long the injury would keep him from playing.
The Pirates won for the 10th time in 12 games, while the Mets have lost four in a row and 12 of Incaviglia was signed to a minor their last 16. Braves 4, Padres 2: Roo Gant

> visiting San Diego as Atlanta won its fourth straight and 13th in 15 Cubs 5, Expos 1: Derrick May hit a two-run double in a four-run third against Montreal and Danny Jackson gave up one run in seven innings in Chicago for only his third

and Jeff Blauser homered against

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Keeper of the Secrets

WASHINGTON — There are two reasons why the government refuses to make its documents available to the public. One is to protect the national security of the United States, and the other is to protect the butts of the officials responsible for the national security of the United States.

Because of the second reason a large staff, occupying the entire second floor of the State Department, is entrusted with secing that nothing gets out of the building that could make any-one in the administration look stunid

Buchwald Peter Ridder is the chief keeper of the United States's awful secrets. "Our task is to ensure that oo one is embarrassed by idiotic decisions, dumb calculations, faulty intelligence or diplomatic arrogance made while serving at the pleasure of the president."

"Your office must have to work 24 bours a day to do that," I said.
"We're the only section of the State Department whose budget bas been increased. Between Irangate and fraggate, we've had to put one linger in the dike after anoth-

"By that, do you mean that you've managed to keep top-secret papers out of the hands of the traitors in Congress who could damage the country?

We have, but it's oot as easy as it sounds. We can't refuse to turn over papers to congressional committees. But we can damn well slow them down.

Painting by Veronese Damaged at the Louvre The Associated Press

PARIS - The famous 16th-century painting "Marriage at Cana" by Paolo Verooese was accidentally damaged in five places while Louvre Museum experts were rehang-ing the buge masterpiece, officials said Monday.

The damage will oot require a remounting, museum officials said.

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Back Page

see the White House posicion on Iraq before Desert Storm. We'll send the papers by diplomatic pouch to Mozambique. We then inform the Foreign Affairs Committee that the documents will soon be back in the country. Iraq has been our big headache, and the more policy papers we can keep top secret, the less damaging it will be for everyone in this administra-

> "From what I read, the U. S. was tilting toward Iraq and sending it a lot of military stuff before it decided that Saddam Hussein was giving us the business," I said.

> Like many other things at State, there is some truth to that. But the real story is that Saddam was a nice person. He always had a smile on his face and he loved little children as long as they weren't Kurds. The U. S. public expects to know everything about its government. But if it was revealed how incompetent its policymakers really are, it would only give comfort to Castro."

> How does your office keep the public and press from finding out about the administration's mis-

"We have a hot line to the FBL When anyone leaks how ignorant the State Department was oo Saddam Hussein, the Justice Department is charged with finding out who leaked the story. Then we prosecute for maximum punishment - plus 20 years for whistle-

"I guess with the country's security at stake, you can't afford to do

The president really has a thing about releasing secret papers that make him look bad. Any action we can take to halt dissemination of bad material about him has full White House support. Right now we're withholding documents that deal with the administratioo's screw-up oo the environment."

"On the grounds that environmental information is a threat to the country?

When it comes to dirty air and dirty water, the president bas to keep his options open. He can't do this if everyone gets to read all the cables on where American businessmen stand on strip mining the nation's wetlands."

A Marriage That Went Into Lawbooks

By David Margolick New York Times Service

TENTRAL POINT, Virginia - Mildred Jeter Loving is oow a widow, the marriage that made her famous having ended in tragedy. But she remains the same intensely private woman she was a quarter-century ago, when her name entered the lawbooks, and she is as reluctant to acknowledge her contribution to the civil rights movement as she once was to

In the wee hours of one morning in July 1958, the quiet life that Mrs. Loving and her husband, Richard, enjoyed in this remote hamlet was shattered when three law officers walked into their bedroom and shined a flashlight on the couple. What they saw confirmed what they had been told: Mrs. Loving was black and Mr. Lov-ing white, making their marriage illegal in

Virginia.
"What are you doing in bed with this lady?" Sheriff R. Garnett Brooks of Caroline County asked Richard Loving, who was 24 at the time. Loving showed the sheriff their marriage certificate, from the District of Columbia. "That's oo good here," Sheriff Brooks replied. He charged the couple with unlawful cohabitation, carted them into nearby Bowling Green

and threw them into the county jail.

The county circuit judge, Leon M. Bazile, sentenced the Lovings to a year in prison, telling them, "Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, Malay and red, and He placed them on separate continents, and but for the interference with His arrangement there would be no cause for such marriages." But the judge offered the Lovings a deal: They could go free as long as they promised to steer clear of Virginia, at least as man and wife, for the oext 25 years.

After several years of unhappy exile in Washington, the Lovings challenged Virginia's 1924 anti-miscegenation statute. And 25 years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that laws barring inter-racial marriage in Virginia and 15 other

To civil libertarians, the decision eliminated one of the last legal vestiges of slavery. The Loving case represents a judicial recognition of the sanctity of marriage and the ability of people irrespective of race to enjoy the protections of the Constitution in their choice of mates," said Philip T. Nash, a Fairfax, Virginia, legal historian who has written on the case. Central Point now is little more than a

scattering of simple homes, a boarded-up general store and St. Steven's Baptist Church, which recently gave Mrs. Loving its "human rights award."

The Supreme Court's decision, which

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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OF ISSUE

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In the U.S.A., call



Mildred Loving at her Bowling Green, Virginia, home, and with her husband in 1967, after the Supreme Court ruling.

Mrs. Loving said she never read, allowed her, her bushand and their three young children, who were considered illegitimate under the law, to live in Virginia in peace and to begin building the simple white cinderblock house in which Mrs. Loving still lives, just down the road from where the sheriff and his deputies roused them.

There are now a million interracial conples in the United States, including several in and around Central Point. Moreover, the oewest member of the Supreme Court, Justice Clarence Thomas, is a black man married to a white woman.

"I was acting according to the law at the time, and I still think it should be on the books," said Sheriff Brooks, on the porch of his home in Bowling Green. "I don't think a white person should marry a black person. I'm from the old school. The Lord made sparrows and robins, not to mix with

Sheriff Brooks said he had rarely pon-dered the case in the last 35 years. "If they'd been outstanding people, I would have thought something about it," he said. "But with the caliber of those people, it didn't matter. They were both low-class."

Richard Loving, who was killed in an automobile accident in 1975, and Mildred Jeter, who grew up near each other, at-tended different churches and schools. But their families were friendly, and when he

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was 17 and she was 11, they began courting. But when thoughts turned to mar-riage, the statute stood in the way. Virginia's anti-miscegenation statute

had gone through several revisions. In one, white person" was defined as someone who "has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian," with a special exemption aimed at protecting de-scendants of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, the 17th-century Virginia planter who married the Indian woman. Conversely, "Negro" was defined in various versions as a person with one-eighth Negro blood, one-fourth Negro blood or "any trace of Negro blood."

Thus, when the Lovings decided to marry in June 1958, they went to Washington. After the raid, the two lived separately with their parents until January 1959, when Judge Bazile offered them exile as an alternative to incarceration.

Each one of them can come to Caroline separately to visit his or her people as often as they please," he ruled. The couple moved to Washington.

It was in that time that Richard Lov-

ing's cousin suggested she write the attor-ney general of the United States. "I was crying the blues all the time, so she said, Why don't you write Robert Kennedy?" she recalled. "She said that's what he's there for." Kennedy told the Lovings to contact the American Civil Liberties

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Union, which placed two lawyers from Alexandria, Virginia, Philip J. Hirschkop and Bernard S. Cohen, on the case.

The two men paid a price for their part in legal history. There were cold shoulders from some disapproving bar colleagues, anonymous telephone calls, disparaging references to "two Jew lawyers" in the Ku Klux Klan newspaper and sugar dumped into the gasoline tanks of family cars. From 1963 until 1967 the case bounced around the courts. In March 1966 the Virginia Supreme Court upheld the law. Then the matter went to the Supreme

Court. Cohen, oow a member of Virginia's House of Delegates, recalled how, before oral arguments, he explained various constitutional doctrines to Richard Loving. "That stuff don't mean nothing to me," Loving told him. "Mr. Cohen, tell the Court I love my wife, and it is just unfair that I can't live with her in Virginia."

Peggy Loving Fortune, at 32 the youngest of the Lovings' three children, is mar-ried to a man of mixed parentage. By challenging the law, she said, her parents had made things "a whole lot easier" for people of such backgrounds. "I'm very proud of them," she said. "To me, they set the world free to be with whomever they want. I feel it's what they were put on this earth for, that God used them to do what

PEOPLE

Italian Tenor Sings Out And Tells Off Audience

The Italian tenor Nunzio Todisco didn't think any more of his audience than they thought of him — and he told them so. "How much did they pay you then, eh?" he shouted from the stage of the San Carlo theater in Naples, provoking shouts, whistles and obscene gestures from the stalls. "Who put you up to this?" Todisco had been piqued that the audience gave his co-star, Raina Kavaivanska, a warmer ovation than he received at the end of the second act of Francesco Cilea's opera "Adriana Lecouvreur." In the third act, he failed to appear for his grand entrance, and the curtain was hurriedly lowered. Todisco then marched on stage and traded insults with the audience. The newspaper L'Unità reflected: "Looking on the bright side, you could say his gesture was a sign of the vitality of this branch of the theater."

Hundreds of Falkland Islanders crammed the town hall of Port Stanley to honor former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for sending troops to retake the British colony from Argentina 10 years ago. Thatcher later laid a wreath at a war memorial.

Rita Moreno, Vikki Carr, the co-median Paul Rodriguez and the Mambo king Tito Puente were among those entertaining President George Bush at a fund-raiser for, the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund and Ford's Theatre in Washington. . .

Felicidad Norlegs, the wife of former Panamanian leader Manuel Antonio Noriega, will have to perform 100 hours of community service and pay a Miami department store \$1,321 compensation for stealing buttons from high-fashion outfits, but criminal charges have been dropped. She faced up to five years in prison. . . .

Hagh Downs, no spring chicken himself at age 71, is receiving a certificate in geriatric education from the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in Manhattan. Downs, a TV personality, has been attending classes and doing the reading and his homework for six years. To what does the certificate entitle him? "It entitles me to frame it and hang it on the wall."

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